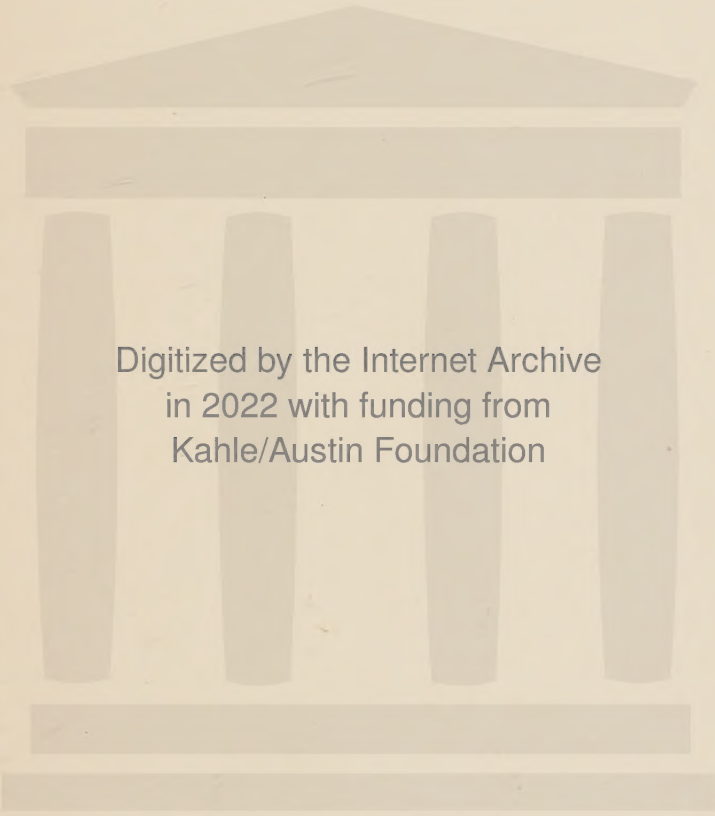


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FORERUNNERS AND COMPETITORS
OF THE PILGRIMS AND PURITANS

FORERUNNERS AND COMPETITORS OF THE PILGRIMS AND PURITANS

OR

NARRATIVES OF VOYAGES MADE BY PERSONS
OTHER THAN THE PILGRIMS AND PURITANS
OF THE BAY COLONY TO THE SHORES OF
NEW ENGLAND DURING THE FIRST QUARTER
OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, 1601-1625
WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE LABORS
OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH IN BEHALF OF
THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND

EDITED FOR THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY
OF BROOKLYN BY

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PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN ADELPHI COLLEGE

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME II

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY

1912

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PREFATORY NOTE.



THE Editor records here his regret that these volumes were nearly all in print before a new and complete English translation of Lescarbot's history began to appear. It is published at Toronto under the auspices of the Champlain Society, and is to fill three volumes.

The Editor also takes this opportunity to amend the rendering of a sentence from Lescarbot's fourth book, which appears on page 197 of the first volume of this work, and in which the translator seems to have missed the full force of the original. The paragraph refers to the life of the little French colony on the island of St. Croix during the winter of 1604-5, when half of the company died of scurvy, due to poor food and drink. They tried to keep up their spirits by writing and reading an occasional journal of events, in which, evidently from the reference to M. de Monts, they sometimes poked fun at one another and even at their chief. This journal, which might be called the first newspaper in North America, was written by a person or persons whom Lescarbot does not name except as "ce prognostiqueur." Possibly he was himself the chief contributor.

“Maitre Guillaume” was the title of the journal rather than the name of its editor, so that the translation might preferably run thus: “They amused themselves by issuing now and then under the title ‘Master William,’ gazettes (booklets) stuffed with all kinds of news.”

Eighty-six years later the next American newspaper was published in Boston under the title “Public Occurrences, both Foreign and Domestick.” After the first issue it was promptly suppressed by the colonial government “for uttering reflections of a very high order” and for illegal publication, as it was unlicensed.

Marc Lescarbot is in divers ways a witness to the presence of a saving sense of humor among the first French colonists of Acadia.

FORERUNNERS AND COMPETITORS
OF THE PILGRIMS AND PURITANS

VII.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE HUDSON RIVER. HENRY HUDSON'S THIRD VOYAGE, 1609.

Journal of Robert Juet (Jewett).



HENRY HUDSON first comes into view as commander of an expedition in 1607 and again in 1608 to find a northeast passage to India, by way of Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla. These voyages were made under the auspices of the Muscovy Company. In 1608 he visited Amsterdam, and was engaged by the Dutch East India Company to find a passage to China "by the east or the west." In April, 1609, he set sail in the *Half-Moon* with a crew of English and Dutch. First he tried again the eastern course, but near Nova Zembla his men became mutinous on account of the ice, and he turned westward.

Emanuel Van Meteren, the Dutch historian and agent through whom Hudson's reports of this voyage were sent from England to Holland, says that Hudson himself was anxious to explore the American coast in latitude 40° N. because letters and maps which he had received from his friend Captain John Smith from Virginia seemed to show a sea leading to the western ocean north of the English colony of Virginia.

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June 15 he was off Newfoundland, and the *Half-Moon* lost her foremast. This sent him along the Maine coast to find a mast, which he accomplished at Sagadahoc. Then he went on down the coast to the discovery of the river that bears his name. In the next year, 1610, he sailed again under English auspices to explore Hudson's Strait and Hudson's Bay, in which he perished miserably.

Robert Juet was Hudson's mate in the second voyage and again in the fourth. He was one of the leaders in the mutiny that resulted in the murder of Hudson, and he cheated the gallows by dying of starvation on the homeward voyage from Hudson's Bay.

The account of Hudson's voyage along the New England coast is to be found in the third volume of Purchas, pp. 585-595; or in the thirteenth volume of the Glasgow edition, pp. 333-379.¹

¹ Juet's Journal is also printed in full in "Henry Hudson the Navigator," a volume published by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1860, and edited for the society by G. M. Asher. Extracts translated from Van Meteren's work may be found on pp. 147-153 of Asher's book, in H. C. Murphy's "Henry Hudson in Holland" (Hague, 1859), pp. 62-65, and in Jameson's "Narratives of New Netherland," pp. 6-9. Van Meteren was Dutch Consul at London from 1583 until his death in 1612, and his "History of the Wars and Events of the Netherlands and their Neighbors" appeared first in 1599 and was continued in various editions down to 1611.

THE THIRD VOYAGE OF MASTER HENRY HUDSON, WRITTEN BY ROBERT JUET, OF LIME-HOUSE.

[The account of the voyage toward Nova Zembla and then westward to Newfoundland and the adjacent waters is omitted here. This part of the voyage filled the time from March 25 (Old Style) to the date given below. The ship reached the Banks of Newfoundland on the 2d and 3d of July. On the latter date it is recorded, "This morning we were among a great Fleet of Frenchmen, which lay Fishing on the Banke; but we spake with none of them." They sighted other French fishing boats on the 9th, and spoke with one of them.]

THE twelfth (*of July*) was very foggie, we stood our course all the morning till eleven of the clocke; at which time we had sight of Land, which is low white sandie ground, right on head off us; and had ten fathoms. Then we tackt to the Southward, and stood off foure Glasses: then we tackt to the Land againe, thinking to have rode under it, and as we came neere it, the fog was so thicke that we could not see; so wee stood off againe. From mid-night to two of the clocke, we came sounding in twelve, thirteene, and fourteene fathoms off the shoare. At foure of the clocke, we had 20 fathoms. At eight of the clocke at night, 30 fathoms. At twelve of the clocke, 65 fathoms, and but little winde, for it deeped apace, but the neerer the shoare the fairer shoalding.

The thirteenth, faire sun-shining weather, from eight of the clocke in the fore-noone all day after, but in the morning it was foggie. Then at eight of the clocke we cast about for the shoare, but could not see it; the wind being at South by our true Compasse, wee steered West and by North. At noone we observed, and found our height to bee 43 degrees, 25 minutes; so we steered away West and by North all the afternoone. At foure of the clocke in the afternoone we sounded, and had five and thirtie fathoms. And at sixe of the clocke wee had sight

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of the Land, and saw two sayles on head off us. The land by the waters side is low Land, and white sandie Bankes, rising full of little Hills. Our soundings were 35, 33, 30, 28, 32, 37, 33, and 32 fathoms.

The fourteenth, full of mysts flying and vading, the wind betweene South and Southwest; we steered away West North-west, and North-west and by West. Our soundings were 29, 25, 24, 25, 22, 25, 27, 30, 28, 30, 35, 43, 50, 70, 90, 70, 64, 86, 100 fathoms, and no ground.

The fifteenth, very mystie, the winde varying betweene South and South-west; wee steered West and by North, and West North-west. In the morning we sounded, and had one hundred fathoms, till foure of the clocke in the afternoone. Then we sounded againe, and had seventie-five fathoms. Then in two Glasses running, which was not above two English miles, we sounded and had sixtie fathoms, and it shoalded a great pace untill we came to twentie fathoms. Then we made account we were neere the Ilands that lie off the shoare. So we came to an Anchor, the Sea being very smooth and little wind, at nine of the clocke at night. After supper we tryed for Fish, and I caught fiteene Cods, some of the greatest that I have seene, and so we rode all night.

The sixteenth, in the morning, it cleered up, and we had sight of five Ilands lying North,¹ and North and by West from us, two leagues. Then wee made ready to set sayle, but the myst came so thicke that we durst not enter in among them.

The seventeenth, was all mystie, so that we could not get into the Harbour. At ten of the clocke two Boates came off to us, with sixe of the Savages of the Countrey, seeming glad of our comming. We gave them trifles, and they eate and dranke with us; and told us that there were Gold, Silver and Copper mynes hard by us; and that the French-men doe

¹ Near Sagadahoc.

HENRY HUDSON'S VOYAGE: Juet

Trade with them; which is very likely, for one of them spake some words of French. So wee rode still all day and all night, the weather continuing mystie.

The eighteenth, faire weather, wee went into a very good Harbour, and rode hard by the shoare in foure fathoms water. The River runneth up a great way, but there is but two fathoms hard by us. We went on shoare and cut us a fore Mast; then at noone we came aboard againe, and found the height of the place to bee in 44 degrees, 1 minute, and the Sunne to fall at a South South-west Sunne. We mended our sayles, and fell to make our fore-Mast. The Harbour lyeth South and North, a mile in where we rode.

The nineteenth, we had faire sun-shining weather, we rode still. In the after-noone wee went with our Boate to looke for fresh water, and found some; and found a shoald with many Lobsters on it, and caught one and thirtie. The people coming aboard, shewed us great friendship, but we could not trust them. The twentieth, faire sunne-shining weather, the winde at South-west. In the morning, our Scute¹ went out to catch fresh Fish halfe an houre before day, and returned in two houres, bringing seven and twentie great Coddies, with two hookes and lines. In the afternoone wee went for more Lobsters and caught fortie, and returned aboard. Then wee espied two French Shallops full of the Countrey people come into the Harbour, but they offered us no wrong, seeing we stood upon our guard. They brought many Beaver skinnies and other fine Furres, which they would have changed for redde Gownes. For the French trade with them for red Cassocks, Knives, Hatchets, Copper, Kettles, Trevits,² Beades, and other trifles.

The one and twentieth, all mystie, the wind Easterly, wee rode still and did nothing, but about our Mast. The two and

¹ Scute = Scout, here the name of a boat.

² Probably trivet, a tripod.

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twentieth, fair Sun-shining weather, the winde all Northerly, we rode still all the day. In the after-noone our Scute went to catch more Lobsters, and brought with them nine and fiftie. The night was cleere weather.

The three and twentieth, faire sun shining weather and very hot. At eleven of the clocke our fore Mast was finished, and wee brought it aboard, and set it into the step, and in the after-noone we rigged it. This night we had some little myst and rayne.

The foure and twentieth, very hot weather, the winde at South out of the sea. The forepart of the day wee brought to our sayles. In the morning our Scute went to take Fish, and in two houres they brought with them twentie great Coddies and a great Holibut; the night was faire also. We kept good watch for fear of being betrayed by the people, and perceived where they layd their Shallops.

The five and twentieth, very faire weather and hot. In the morning wee manned our Scute with foure Muskets and sixe men, and tooke one of their Shallops and brought it aboard. Then we manned our Boat and Scute with twelve men and Muskets, and two stone pieces or Murderers, and drave the Salvages from their Houses, and tooke the spoyle of them, as they would have done of us. Then wee set sayle, and came downe to the Harbours mouth, and rode there all night, because the winde blew right in, and the night grew mystie with much rayne till mid-night. Then it fell calme, and the wind came off the Land at West North-west, and it began to cleere. The Compasse varied ten degrees North-west.

The sixe and twentieth, faire and cleere sunne-shining weather. At five of the clocke in the morning, the winde being off the shoare at North North-west, we set sayle and came to sea, and by noone we counted our ship had gone fourteene leagues South-west. In the afternoone, the winde shifted variably betweene West South-west and North-west.

HENRY HUDSON'S VOYAGE: Juet

At noone I found the height to bee 43 degrees, 56 minutes. This Evening being very faire weather, wee observed the variation of our Compasse at the Sunnes going downe, and found it to bee 10 degrees from the North to the Westward.

The seven and twentieth, faire sun-shining weather, the winde shifting betweene the South-west, and West and by North, a stiffe gale; we stood to the Southward all day, and made our way South and by West, seven and twentie leagues. At noone, our height was 42 degrees, 50 minutes. At foure of the clocke in the after-noone, wee cast about to the Northward. At eight of the clocke, we tooke in our top-sayles and our fore-bonnet, and went with a short sayle all night.

The eight and twentieth, very thicke and mystie, and a stiffe gale of wind, varying betweene South South-west and South-west and by West; we made our way North-west and by West, seven and twentie leagues; wee sounded many times and could get no ground. At five of the clocke we cast about to the Southward, the wind at South-west and by West. At which time we sounded, and had ground at seventie-five fathoms. At eight, wee had sixtie-five fathoms. At ten, sixtie. At twelve of the clocke at mid-night, fiftie-sixe fathoms, gray sand.

The Compasse varied 6 degrees the North point to the West.

The nine and twentieth, faire weather, we stood to the Southward, and made our way South and by West a point South, eighteene leagues. At noone we found our height to be 42 degrees 56 minutes; wee sounded oft and had these: 60, 64, 65, 67, 65, 65, 70, and 75 fathoms. At night wee tryed the variation of our Compasse by the setting of the Sunne, and found that it went downe 37 degrees to the Northward of the West, and should have gone downe but 31 degrees. The Compasse varied 5 and a halfe degrees.

The thirtieth, very hot, all the fore part of the day calme,

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the wind at South South-east; wee steered away West South-west and sounded many times, and could find no ground at one hundred and seventie fathomes. We found a great current and many over-falls. Our current had deceived us. For at noone we found our height to be 41 degrees 34 minutes. And the current had heaved us to the Southward foureteene leagues. At eight of the clocke at night I sounded, and had ground in fiftie-two fathomes. In the end of the mid-night watch wee had fiftie-three fathomes. This last observation is not to be trusted.

The one and thirtieth, very thicke and mystie all day, untill tenne of the clocke. At night the wind came to the South, and South-west and South. We made our way West North-west nineteene leagues. Wee sounded many times, and had difference of soundings, sometimes little stones, and sometimes grosse gray sand, fiftie-sixe, fiftie-foure, fortie-eight, fortie-seven, fortie-foure, fortie-sixe, fiftie fathoms; and at eight of the clocke at night it fell calme, and we had fiftie fathomes. And at ten of the clocke we heard a great Rut, like the Rut¹ of the shoare. Then I sounded and found the former Depths; and mistrusting a current, seeing it so still that the ship made no way, I let the lead lie on the ground, and found a tide set to the South-west, and South-west and by West, so fast, that I could hardly vere² the Line so fast, and presently came an hurling current, or tyde with over-fals, which cast our ship round; and the Lead was so fast in the ground that I feared the Lines breaking, and we had no more but that. At mid-night I sounded againe, and we had seventie-five fathomes; and the strong streame had left us.

The first of August, all the fore part of the day was mystie, and at noone it cleered up. We found that our height was 41 degrees 45 minutes, and we had gone nineteene leagues. The

¹ Noise, as the breaking of waves.

² Veer, for veer out, to let out the line.

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after-noone was reasonable cleere. We found a rustling tide or current with many overfalls to continue still, and our water to change colour, and our sea to bee very deepe, for wee found no ground in one hundred fathomes. The night was cleere, and the winde came to the North, and North North-east, we steered west.

The second, very faire weather and hot: from the morning till noone we had a gale of wind, but in the after-noone little wind. At noone I sounded and had one hundred and ten fathomes; and our height was 41 degrees 56 minutes. And wee had runne four and twentie leagues and an halfe. At the Sun-setting we observed the variation of the Compasse, and found that it was come to his true place. At eight of the clocke the gale increased, so wee ranne sixe leagues that watch, and had a very faire and cleere night.

The third, very hot weather. In the morning we had sight of the Land,¹ and steered in with it, thinking to go to the Northward of it. So we sent our shallop with five men to sound in by the shore: and they found it deepe five fathomes within a Bow-shot of the shoare; and they went on Land, and found goodly Grapes and Rose trees, and brought them aboard with them, at five of the clocke in the Evening. We had seven and twentie fathomes within two miles of the shoare; and we found a floud come from the South-east, and an ebbe from the Northwest, with a very strong streame, and a great hurling and noyses. At eight of the clocke at night the wind began to blow a fresh gale, and continued all night but variable. Our sounding that wee had to the Land was one hundred, eightie, seventie-foure, fiftie-two, fortie-sixe, twentie-nine, twenty-seven, twentie-foure, nineteene, seventeene, sometimes Oze, and sometimes gray sand.

The fourth was very hot: we stood to the North-west two watches, and one South in for the Land, and came to an

¹ Near Cape Cod.

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Anchor at the Norther end of the Headland, and heard the voyce of men call. Then we sent our Boat on shoare, thinking they had beene some Christians left on the Land: but wee found them to bee Savages, which seemed very glad of our comming. So wee brought one aboard with us, and gave him meate, and he did eate and drinke with us. Our Master gave him three or foure glasse Buttons, and sent him on Land with our shallop againe. And at our Boats comming from the shoare he leapt and danced, and held up his hands, and pointed us to a river on the other side:¹ for we had made signes that we came to fish there. The bodie of this Headland lyeth in 41 degrees 45 minutes. We set sayle againe after dinner, thinking to have got to the Westward of this Headland, but could not; so we beare up to the Southward of it, and made a South-east way: and the Souther point did beare West at eight of the clocke at night. Our soundings about the Easter and Norther part of this Headland, a league from the shoare are these: at the Easterside thirtie, twentie-seven, twentie-seven, twentie-foure, twentie-five, twentie. The North-east point 17 degrees, 18 minutes, and so deeper. The North end of this Headland, hard by the shoare thirtie fathomes: and three leagues off North North-west, one hundred fathomes. At the South-east part a league off, fifteene, sixteene, and seventeene fathomes. The people have greene Tabacco and pipes, the boles whereof are made of Earth and the pipes of red Copper. The Land is very sweet.

The fift, all mystie. At eight of the clocke in the morning wee tact about to the westward, and stood in till foure of the clocke in the after-noone; at which time it cleered, and wee had sight of the Head-land againe five leagues from us. The Souther point of it did beare West off us: and we sounded many times, and had no ground. And at foure of the clocke we cast about, and at our staying wee had seventie fathomes.

¹ Stage Harbor, Massachusetts.

HENRY HUDSON'S VOYAGE: Juet

Wee steered away South and South by East all night, and could get no ground at seventie and eightie fathomes. For wee feared a great Riffe that lyeth off the Land, and steered away South and by East.

The sixth, faire weather, but many times mysting. Wee steered away South South-east, till eight of the clocke in the morning; then it cleered a little, and we cast about to the Westward. Then wee sounded and had thirtie fathomes, grosse sand, and were come to the Riffe. Then we kept our Lead, and had quicke shoalding from thirtie, twentie-nine, twentie-seven, twentie-foure, twentie-two, twentie and an halfe, twentie, twentie, nineteene, nineteene, nineteene, eighteene, eighteene, seventeene; and so deeping againe as proportionally as it shoalded. For we steered South and South-east till we came to twentie-sixe fathomes. Then we steered South-west, for so the tyde doth set. By and by, it being calme, we tryed by our Lead; for you shall have sixteene or seventeene fathomes, and the next cast but seven or six fathomes. And farther to the Westward you shall have foure and five foot water, and see Rockes under you and you shall see the Land in the top. Upon this Riffe we had an observation, and found that it lyeth in 40 degrees, 10 minutes. And this is that Headland which Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold discovered in the yeere 1602, and called Cape Cod, because of the store of Cod-fish that hee found thereabout. So we steered South-west three leagues, and had twentie and twentie-foure fathomes. Then we steered West two Glasses, halfe a league, and came to fifteene fathomes. Then we steered off South-east foure Glasses, but could not get deepe water; for there the tyde of ebbe laid us on; and the streame did hurle so, that it laid us so neere the breach of a shoald that wee were forced to Anchor. So at seven of the clocke at night wee were at an Anchor in tenne fathomes; and I give God most heartie thanks, the least water wee had was seven fathomes and an halfe. We rode still

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all night, and at a still water I sounded so farre round about our ship as we could see a light; and had no lesse than eight, nine, ten, and eleven fathomes: the myst continued being very thicke.

The seventh, faire weather and hot, but mystie. Wee rode still hoping it would cleere, but on the flood it fell calme and thicke. So we rode still all day and all night. The flood cometh from the South-west, and riseth not above one fathome and an halfe in nepe streames. Toward night it cleered, and I went with our shallop and sounded, and found no lesse water than eight fathomes to the South-east off us; but we saw to the North-west off us great Breaches.

The eight, faire and cleere weather. In the morning, by sixe of the clocke, at slake water, wee weighed, the wind at North-east, and set our fore-sayle and mayne top-sayle, and got a mile over the Flats. Then the tyde of ebbe came, so we anchored againe till the flood came. Then we set sayle againe, and by the great mercie of God wee got cleere off them by one of the clocke this afternoone. And wee had sight of the Land from the West North-west to North North-west. So we steered away South South-east all night, and had ground untill the middle of the third watch. Then we had fortie-five fathomes, white sand and little stones. So all our soundings are twentie, twentie, twentie-two, twentie-seven, thirtie-two, fortie-three, fortie-three, fortie five. Then no ground in seventie fathomes.

The ninth, very faire and hot weather, the wind a very stiffe gale. In the morning at foure of the clocke, our shallop came running up against our sterne, and split in all her stemme; So we were faine to cut her away. Then we tooke in our mayne sayle, and lay atrie¹ under our fore-sayle until twelve of the clocke at mid-day. Then the wind ceased to a faire gale, so wee stood away South-west. Then we lay close by,

¹ To lie so as to keep the ship's bow to the sea.

HENRY HUDSON'S VOYAGE: Juet

on many courses a South by West way fifteene leagues; and three watches South-east by East, ten leagues. At eight of the clocke at night, wee tooke in our top-sayles, and went with a low sayle; because we were in an unknowne sea. At noone we observed and found our height to be 38. Degrees 39. minutes.

The tenth, in the morning some raine and cloudie weather: the winde at South-west, wee made our way South-east by East, ten leagues. At noone, wee observed and found our height to bee 38. degrees 39. minutes. Then wee tackt about to the Westward, the wind being at South and by East, little wind. At foure of the clocke it fell calme, and we had two Dolphines about our ship, and many small fishes. At eight of the clocke at night, wee had a small lingring gale. At night we had a great Sea out of the South-west, and another great Sea out of the North-east.

The eleventh, all the fore-part of the day faire weather, and very hot. Wee stood to the West South-west till noone. Then the wind shorted, and we could lye but South-west and by South. At noone, wee found our height to bee 39. degrees 11. minutes. And that the current had laid us to the Northward thirtie two minutes contrary to our expectation. At foure of the clocke in the afternoone there came a myst, which endured two houres. But wee had it faire and cleere all night after. The Compasse varied the North point to the West one whole point.

The twelfth, faire weather, the wind variable betweene the South-west and by South, and the North little wind. In the morning we killed an extraordinary fish, and stood to the Westward all day and all night. At noone we found our height to be 38. degrees 13. minutes. And the observation the day before was not good. This noone, we found the Compasse to vary from the North to the West ten degrees.

The thirteenth, faire weather and hot: the wind at North-

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east. We steered away West and by our Compasse two and twentie leagues. At noone wee found our height to bee 37. degrees 45. minutes, and that our way from noone to noone was West South-west, halfe a point Southerly. The Compasse was 7. degrees and a halfe variation, from the North point to the West.

The fourteenth, faire weather, but cloudie, and a stiffe gale of wind, variable betweene North-east and South-west, wee steered away West by South, a point South all day untill nine of the clocke at night; then it began to Thunder and Lighten, whereupon we tooke in all our sayles and layd it a hull, and hulled¹ away North till midnight, a league and a halfe.

The fifteenth, very faire and hot weather, the winde at North by East. At foure of the clocke in the morning we set sayle, and stood on our course to the Westward. At noone wee found our height to bee 37. degrees 25. minutes. The after-noone proved little wind. At eight of the clocke at night, the winde came to the North, and wee steered West by North, and West North-west, and made our way West. The Compasse varied 7. degrees from the North to the West.

The sixteenth, faire shining weather, and very hot, the wind variable betweene the North and the West, wee steered away West by North. At noone wee found our height to bee 37. degrees 6. minutes. This morning we sounded and had ground in ninetie fathomes, and in sixe Glasses running it shoalded to fiftie fathoms, and so to eight and twentie fathoms, at foure of the clocke in the after-noone. Then wee came to an Anchor, and rode till eight of the clocke at night, the wind being at South and Moone-light, we resolved to goe to the Northward to finde deeper water. So we weighed and stood to the Northward, and found the water to shoald and deepe, from eight and twentie to twentie fathomes.

The seventeenth, faire and cleere Sun-shining weather, the

¹ Drifted.

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winde at South by West, wee steered to the Northward till foure of the clocke in the morning, then wee came to eightene fathomes. So we Anchored untill the Sunne arose to looke abroad for Land, for wee judged there could not but be Land neere us, but we could see none. Then we weighed and stood to the Westward till noone. And at eleven of the clocke wee had sight of a low Land, with a white sandie shoare.¹ By twelve of the clocke we were come into five fathomes, and Anchored; and the Land was foure leagues from us, and wee had sight of it from the West, to the North-west by North. Our height was 37. degrees 26. minutes. Then the wind blew so stiffe a gale, and such a Sea went, that wee could not weigh; so we rode there all night an hard rode.²

The eighteenth, in the morning faire weather, and little winde at North North-east and North-east. At foure of the clocke in the morning, we weighed and stood into the shoare to see the deeping or shoalding of it, and finding it too deepe, we stood in to get a rode; for wee saw as it were three Ilands. So wee turned to windward to get into a Bay, as it shewed to us to the Westward of an Iland. For the three Ilands did beare North off us. But toward noone the wind blew North-erly with gusts of wind and rayne. So we stood off into the Sea againe all night; and running off we found a Channell, wherein we had no lesse then eight, nine, ten, eleven, and twelve fathomes water. For in comming over the Barre, wee had five, and foure fathomes and a halfe, and it lyeth five leagues from the shoare, and it is the Barre of Virginia. At the North end of it, it is ten leagues broad, and South and North, but deepe water from ninetie fathoms to five, and foure and a halfe. The Land lyeth South and North. This is the entrance into the Kings River in Virginia, where our Englishmen are.³ The North side of it lyeth in 37. degrees 26.

¹ Off the "Eastern Shore" of Virginia, near Cape Charles.

² Roadstead. ³ Entrance to Chesapeake Bay.

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minutes, you shall know when you come to shoald water or sounding; for the water will looke Greene or thicke, you shall have ninetie and eightie fathomes, and shoalding a pace till you come to ten, eleven, nine, eight, seven, ten, and nine fathomes, and so to five, and foure fathomes and a halfe.

The nineteenth, faire weather, but an hard gale of winde at the North-east, wee stood off till noone, and made our way South-east by East, two and twentie leagues. At noone wee cast about to the Westward, and stood till sixe of the clocke, in the after-noone, and went five leagues and a halfe North-west by North. Then wee cast about againe to the Eastward, and stood that way till foure the next morning.

The twentieth, faire and cleere weather, the winde variable betweene East North-east, and North-east. At foure of the clocke in the morning, wee cast about to the Westward, and stood till noone; at which time I sounded; and had two and thirtie fathomes. Then we takt to the Eastward againe; wee found our height to bee 37. degrees 22. minutes. We stood to the Eastward all night, and had very much wind. At eight of the clocke at night we tooke off our Bonnets,¹ and stood with small sayle.

The one and twentieth, was a sore storme of winde and rayne all day and all night, wherefore wee stood to the Eastward with a small sayle till one of the clocke in the after-noone. Then a great Sea brake into our fore-corse and split it; so we were forced to take it from the yard and mend it; wee lay a trie with our mayne-corse all night. This night our Cat ranne crying from one side of the ship to the other, looking over-boored, which made us to wonder; but we saw nothing.

The two and twentieth, stormy weather, with gusts of rayne and wind. In the morning at eight of the clocke we set our fore-corse, and stood to the Eastward under our fore-sayle,

¹ Canvas laced to the foot of a sail; formerly also to the top of a sail.

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mayne-sayle and misen, and from noone to noone, we made our way East South-east, fourteene leagues. The night reasonable drie but cloudie, the winde variable all day and night. Our Compasse was varied 4. degrees Westward.

The three and twentieth, very faire weather, but some Thunder in the morning, the winde variable betweene East by North. At noone wee tackt about to the Northward, the winde at East by North. The after-noone very faire, the wind variable, and continued so all night. Our way we made East South-east, till noone the next day.

The foure and twentieth, faire and hot weather, with the wind variable betweene the North and the East. The after-noone variable winde. But at foure of the clocke, the wind came to the East and South-east; so wee steered away North by West, and in three Watches wee went thirteene leagues. At noone our height was 35. degrees 41. minutes, being farre off at Sea from the Land.

The five and twentieth, faire weather and very hot. All the morning was very calme untill eleven of the clocke; the wind came to South-east, and South South-east; so wee steered away North-west by North, two Watches and a halfe, and one Watch North-west by West, and went eighteene leagues. At noone I found our height to bee 36. degrees 20. minutes, being without sight of Land.

The sixe and twentieth, faire and hot weather, the winde variable upon all the points of the Compasse. From two of the clocke in the morning untill noone, wee made our way North by East, seven leagues. In the after-noone the wind came to the North-east, and vering to the East South-east, wee steered away North-west fifteene leagues, from noone till ten of the clocke at night. At eight of the clocke at night wee sounded, and had eighteene fathomes, and were come to the Banke of Virginia, and could not see the Land. Wee kept sounding, and steered away North, and came to eight fathomes, and

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Anchored there; for the wind was at East South-east, so that wee could not get off. For the Coast lyeth along South South-west, and North North-east. At noone our height was 37. degrees 15. minutes. And wee found that we were returned to the same place, from whence we were put off at our first seeing Land.

The seven and twentieth, faire weather and very hot, the winde at East South-east. In the morning as soone as the Sunne was up, wee looked out and had sight of the Land. Then wee weighed, and stood in North-west two Glasses, and found the Land to bee the place, from whence wee put off first. So wee kept our loofe,¹ and steered along the Land and had the Banke lye all along the shoare; and wee had in two leagues off the shoare, five, sixe, seven, eight, nine, and ten fathomes. The Coast lyeth South South-west, and is a white Sandie shoare, and sheweth full of Bayes and Points. The streame setteth West South-west, and East North-east. At sixe of the clocke at night, wee were thwart of an Harbour or River, but we saw a Barre lye before it; and all within the Land to the Northward, the water ranne with many Ilands in it. At sixe of the clocke we Anchored, and sent our Boate to sound to the shoare-ward, and found no lesse then foure and a halfe, five, sixe, and seven fathomes.

The eight and twentieth, faire and hot weather, the winde at South South-west. In the morning at sixe of the clocke wee weighed, and steered away North twelve leagues till noone, and came to the Point of the Land; and being hard by the Land in five fathomes, on a sudden wee came into three fathomes; then we beare up and had but ten foote water, and joynd to the Point. Then as soone as wee were over, wee had five, sixe, seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve, and thirteene fathomes. Then wee found the Land to trend away North-west, with a great Bay and Rivers.² But the Bay wee found

¹ Luff. Kept close to the wind.

² Entrance of the Delaware.

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shoald; and in the offing wee had ten fathomes and had sight of Breaches and drie Sand. Then wee were forced to stand backe againe; so we stood backe South-east by South, three leagues. And at seven of the clocke wee Anchored in eight fathomes water; and found a Tide set to the North-west, and North North-west, and it riseth one fathome, and floweth South South-east. And hee that will thoroughly Discover this great Bay, must have a small Pinnasse, that must draw but foure or five foote water, to sound before him. At five in the morning wee weighed, and steered away to the Eastward on many courses, for the Norther Land is full of shoalds. Wee were among them, and once we strooke, and wee went away; and steered away to the South-east. So wee had two, three, foure, five, sixe, and seven fathomes, and so deeper and deeper.

The nine and twentieth, faire weather, with some Thunder and showers, the winde shifting betweene the South South-west, and the North North-west. In the morning wee weighed at the breake of day, and stood toward the Norther Land, which we found to bee all Ilands to our sight, and great stormes from them, and are shoald three leagues off. For we comming by them, had but seven, sixe, five, foure, three, and two fathomes and a halfe, and strooke ground with our Rudder, we steered off South-west, one Glasse, and had five fathoms. Then wee steered South-east three Glasses, then wee found seven fathomes, and steered North-east by East, foure leagues, and came to twelve and thirteene fathoms. At one of the clocke, I went to the top-mast head, and set the Land, and the bodie of the Ilands did beare North-west by North. And at foure of the clocke, wee had gone foure leagues East South-east, and North-east by East, and found but seven fathoms, and it was calme, so we Anchored. Then I went againe to the top-mast head, to see how farre I could see Land about us, and could see no more but the Ilands. And the Souther point of them did beare North-west by West, eight leagues off. So

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wee rode till mid-night. Then the winde came to the North North-west, so wee weighed and set sayle.

The thirtieth, in the morning betweene twelve and one, we weighed, and stood to the Eastward, the winde at North North-west, wee steerd away and made our way East South-east. From our weighing till noone, eleven leagues. Our soundings were eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, and thirteene fathomes till day. Then we came to eighteene, nineteene, twentie, and to sixe and twentie fathoms by noone. Then I observed the Sunne, and found the height to bee 39. degrees 5. minutes, and saw no Land. In the after-noone, the winde came to North by West; So wee lay close by with our fore-sayle; and our mayne-sayle, and it was little winde untill twelve of the clocke at mid-night, then wee had a gale a little while. Then I sounded, and all the night our soundings were thirtie, and sixe and thirtie fathomes, and wee went little.

The one and thirtieth, faire weather and little wind. At sixe of the clocke in the morning we cast about to the Northward, the wind being at the North-east, little wind. At noone it fell calme, and I found the height to bee 38. degrees 39. minutes. And the streames had deceived us, and our sounding was eight and thirtie fathoms. In the after-noone I sounded againe, and had but thirtie fathoms. So we found that we were heaved too and fro with the streames of the Tide, both by our observations and our depths. From noone till foure of the clocke in the after-noone, it was calme. At sixe of the clocke wee had a little gale Southerly, and it continued all night, sometimes calme, and sometimes a gale; wee went eight leagues from noone to noone, North by East.

The *first of September*, faire weather, the wind variable betweene east and south; we steered away north north-west. At noone we found our height to bee 39 degrees, 3 minutes. Wee had soundings thirtie, twentie-seven, twentie-foure, and twentie-two fathomes, as wee went to the northward. At sixe

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of the clocke wee had one and twentie fathomes. And all the third watch, till twelve of the clocke at mid-night, we had soundings one and twentie, two and twentie, eighteene, two and twentie, one and twentie, eighteene, and two and twentie fathoms, and went sixe leagues neere hand¹ north north-west.

The *second*, in the morning, close weather, the winde at south in the morning; from twelve untill two of the clocke we steered north north-west, and had sounding one and twentie fathoms; and in running one glasse² we had but sixteene fathoms, then seventeene, and so shoalder and shoalder untill it came to twelve fathoms. We saw a great fire, but could not see the land; then we came to ten fathoms, whereupon we brought our tackes aboard,³ and stood to the eastward east south-east, foure glasses. Then the sunne arose, and wee steered away north againe, and saw the land from the west by north to the north-west by north, all like broken islands,⁴ and our soundings were eleven and ten fathoms. Then wee looft⁵ in for the shoare, and faire by the shoare we had seven fathoms. The course along the land we found to be north-east by north. From the land which we had first sight of, untill we came to a great lake of water, as wee could judge it to bee, being drowned land, which made it to rise like islands, which was in length ten leagues. The mouth of that land hath many shoalds, and the sea breaketh on them as it is cast out of the mouth of it. And from that lake or bay the land lyeth north by east, and wee had a great streame out of the bay; and from thence our sounding was ten fathoms two leagues from the land. At five of the clocke we anchored, being little winde, and rode in eight fathoms water; the night was faire. This night I found the land to hall the compasse 8 degrees.⁶

¹ Almost.

² One sand-glasse = half an hour.

³ Hauled in the weather clews of the sails so as to take the starboard tack.

⁴ Sandy Hook. ⁵ Luffed.

⁶ Hall = haul. The variation of the compass was eight degrees to the westward.

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For to the northward off us we saw high hils. For the day before we found not above 2 degrees of variation. This is a very good land to fall with, and a pleasant land to see.

The *third*, the morning mystie, untill ten of the clocke; then it cleered, and the wind came to the south south-east, so wee weighed and stood to the northward. The land¹ is very pleasant and high, and bold to fall withall. At three of the clocke in the after-noone, wee came to three great rivers.² So we stood along to the northermost, thinking to have gone into it, but we found it to have a very shoald barre before it, for we had but ten foot water. Then we cast about to the southward, and found two fathoms, three fathoms, and three and a quarter, till we came to the souther side of them; then we had five and sixe fathoms, and anchored. So wee sent in our boate to sound, and they found no lesse water then foure, five, sixe, and seven fathoms, and returned in an houre and a halfe. So wee weighed and went in, and rode in five fathoms, oze ground, and saw many salmons, and mullets, and rayes, very great. The height is 40 degrees, 30 minutes.

The *fourth*, in the morning, as soone as the day was light, wee saw that it was good riding farther up. So we sent our boate to sound, and found that it was a very good harbour, and foure and five fathomes, two cables length from the shoare. Then we weighed and went in with our ship. Then our boate went on land³ with our net to fish, and caught ten great mullets, of a foote and a halfe long a peece, and a ray as great as foure men could hale into the ship. So wee trimmed our boate and rode still all day. At night the wind blew hard at the north-west, and our anchor came home, and wee drove on shoare, but tooke no hurt, thanked bee God, for the ground is soft sand and oze. This day the people of the countrey

¹ The south coast of Staten Island.

² Probably the Raritan, Arthur Kill, and the Narrows.

³ Perhaps Coney Island.

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came aboard of us, seeming very glad of our comming, and brought greene tobacco, and gave us of it for knives and beads. They goe in deere skins loose, well dressed. They have yellow copper. They desire cloathes, and are very civill. They have great store of maize, or Indian wheate, whereof they make good bread. The countrey is full of great and tall oake.

The *fifth*, in the morning, as soone as the day was light, the wind ceased and the flood came. So we heaved off our ship againe into five fathoms water, and sent our boate to sound the bay, and we found that there was three fathoms hard by the souther shoare. Our men went on land¹ there, and saw great store of men, women, and children, who gave them tabacco at their comming on land. So they went up into the woods, and saw great store of very goodly oakes and some currants. For one of them came aboard and brought some dried, and gave me some, which were sweet and good. This day many of the people came aboard, some in mantles of feathers, and some in skinnes of divers sorts of good fures. Some women also came to us with hempe. They had red copper tabacco pipes, and other things of copper they did weare about their neckes. At night they went on land againe, so wee rode very quiet, but durst not trust them.

The *sixth*, in the morning, was faire weather, and our master sent John Colman, with foure other men in our boate, over to the north-side to sound the other river,² being foure leagues from us. They found by the way shoald water, two fathoms; but at the north of the river eighteen, and twentie fathoms, and very good riding for ships; and a narrow river³ to the westward, betweene two ilands. The lands, they told us, were as pleasant with grasse and flowers and goodly trees as ever

¹ Perhaps on Staten Island.

² The Narrows?

³ The strait between Staten Island and the Jersey coast at Bayonne; the Kill von Kull?

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they had seene, and very sweet smells came from them. So they went in two leagues and saw an open sea,¹ and returned; and as they came backe, they were set upon by two canoes, the one having twelve, the other fourteene men. The night came on, and it began to rayne, so that their match went out; and they had one man slaine in the fight, which was an Englishman, named John Colman, with an arrow shot into his throat, and two more hurt. It grew so darke that they could not find the ship that night, but labored to and fro on their oares. They had so great a streame, that their grapnell would not hold them.

The *seventh*, was faire, and by ten of the clocke they returned aboard the ship, and brought our dead man with them, whom we carried on land and buryed, and named the point after his name, Colmans Point.² Then we hoysed in our boate, and raised her side with waste boords for defence of our men. So we rode still all night, having good regard to our watch.

The *eight*, was very faire weather, wee rode still very quietly. The people came aboard us, and brought tabacco and Indian wheat to exchange for knives and beades, and offered us no violence. So we fitting up our boate did marke them, to see if they would make any shew of the death of our man; which they did not.

The *ninth*, faire weather. In the morning, two great canoes came aboard full of men; the one with their bowes and arrowes, and the other in shew of buying of knives to betray us; but we perceived their intent. Wee tooke two of them to have kept them, and put red coates on them, and would not suffer the other to come neere us. So they went on land, and two other came aboard in a canoe; we tooke the one and let the other goe; but hee which wee had taken, got up and leapt

¹ Newark Bay?

² Possibly on Staten Island.

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over-board. Then we weighed and went off into the channell of the river, and anchored there all night.

The *tenth*, faire weather, we rode still till twelve of the clocke. Then we weighed and went over, and found it shoald all the middle of the river, for wee could finde but two fathoms and a halfe and three fathomes for the space of a league; then wee came to three fathomes and foure fathomes, and so to seven fathomes, and anchored, and rode all night in soft ozie ground. The banke is sand.¹

The *eleventh* was faire and very hot weather. At one of the clocke in the after-noone wee weighed and went into the river, the wind at south south-west, little winde. Our soundings were seven, sixe, five, sixe, seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve, thirteene, and fourteene fathomes. Then it shoalded againe, and came to five fathomes. Then wee anchored, and saw that it was a very good harbour for all windes, and rode all night. The people of the country came aboard of us, making shew of love, and gave us tabacco and Indian wheat,² and departed for that night; but we durst not trust them.³

The *twelfth*, very faire and hot. In the after-noone, at two of the clocke, wee weighed, the winde being variable betweene the north and the north-west. So we turned into the river two leagues and anchored. This morning, at our first rode in the river, there came eight and twentie canoes full of men, women and children to betray us: but we saw their intent, and suffered none of them to come aboard of us. At twelve of the clocke they departed. They brought with them oysters and

¹ In the Narrows.

² Maize.

³ So says Juet. Hudson himself, in the few scraps of his original log-book preserved by De Laet, and also in the communications which Van Meteren seems to have received from him, always speaks most kindly of the North American Indians. He and his crew entirely disagreed with regard to the treatment due to the poor natives; and his kindness was rewarded by friendship, their sullen mistrust by acts of hostility. The poor Indian has but too often been thus both ill-treated and ill-judged by prejudiced Europeans.—*Asher*.

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beanes, whereof wee bought some. They have great tabacco pipes of yellow copper, and pots of earth to dresse their meate in. It floweth south-east by south within.

The *thirteenth*, faire weather, the wind northerly. At seven of the clocke in the morning, as the flood came we weighed, and turned foure miles into the river. The tide being done wee anchored. Then there came foure canoes aboard: but we suffered none of them to come into our ship. They brought great store of very good oysters aboard, which we bought for trifles. In the night I set the variation of the compasse, and found it to be 13 degrees. In the after-noone we weighed, and turned in with the flood, two leagues and a halfe further, and anchored all night; and had five fathoms soft ozie ground; and had an high point of land, which shewed out to us, bearing north by east five leagues off us.

The *fourteenth*, in the morning, being very faire weather, the wind south-east, we sayled up the river twelve leagues, and had five fathoms, and five fathoms and a quarter lesse; and came to a streight betweene two points,¹ and had eight, nine, and ten fathoms; and it trended north-east by north, one league: and wee had twelve, thirteene, and fourteene fathomes. The river is a mile broad: there is very high land on both sides.² Then we went up north-west a league and an halfe deepe water. Then north-east by north, five miles; then north-west by north, two leagues, and anchored. The land grew very high and mountainous. The river is full of fish.

The *fifteenth*, in the morning, was misty, untill the sunne arose: then it cleered. So wee weighed with the wind at south, and ran up into the river twentie leagues, passing by high mountaines.³ Wee had a very good depth, as sixe, seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve, and thirteene fathomes, and great store

¹ Between Stony and Verplanck points.

² Near Peekskill.

³ The Catskills.

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of salmons in the river. This morning our two savages got out of a port and swam away. After wee were under sayle, they called to us in scorne. At night we came to other mountaines, which lie from the rivers side. There wee found very loving people, and very old men: where wee were well used. Our boat went to fish, and caught great store of very good fish.

The *sixteenth*, faire and very hot weather. In the morning our boat went againe to fishing, but could catch but few, by reason their canoes had beene there all night. This morning the people came aboard, and brought us eares of Indian corne, and pompions, and tabacco: which wee bought for trifles. Wee rode still all day, and filled fresh water; at night wee weighed and went two leagues higher, and had shoald water: so wee anchored till day.¹

The *seventeenth*, faire sun-shining weather, and very hot. In the morning, as soone as the sun was up, we set sayle, and ran up sixe leagues higher, and found shoalds in the middle of the channell, and small ilands, but seven fathoms water on both sides. Toward night we borrowed so neere the shoare, that we grounded: so we layed out our small anchor, and heaved off againe. Then we borrowed on the banke in the channell, and came aground againe; while the floud ran we heaved off againe, and anchored all night.

The *eighteenth*, in the morning, was faire weather, and we rode still. In the after-noone our masters mate went on land with an old savage, a governor of the countrey; who carried him to his house, and made him good cheere. The *nineteenth*, was faire and hot weather: at the floud, being neere eleven of the clocke, wee weighed, and ran higher up two leagues above the shoalds, and had no lesse water then five fathoms; wee anchored, and rode in eight fathomes. The people of the countrie came flocking aboard, and brought us grapes and pompions, which wee bought for trifles. And many brought

¹ Probably near the city of Hudson.

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us bevers skinnes and otters skinnes, which wee bought for beades, knives, and hatchets. So we rode there all night.¹

The *twentieth*, in the morning, was faire weather. Our masters mate with foure men more went up with our boat to sound the river, and found two leagues above us but two fathomes water, and the channell very narrow; and above that place, seven or eight fathomes. Toward night they returned: and we rode still all night. The *one and twentieth* was faire weather, and the wind all southerly: we determined yet once more to go farther up into the river, to trie what depth and breadth it did beare; but much people resorted aboard, so wee went not this day. Our carpenter went on land, and made a fore-yard. And our master and his mate determined to trie some of the chiefe men of the countrey, whether they had any treacherie in them. So they tooke them downe into the cabin, and gave them so much wine and *aqua vitæ*, that they were all merrie: and one of them had his wife with them, which sate so modestly, as any of our countrey women would doe in a strange place. In the ende one of them was drunke, which had beene aboard of our ship all the time that we had beene there: and that was strange to them; for they could not tell how to take it. The canoes and folke went all on shoare: but some of them came againe, and brought stropes² of beades: some had sixe, seven, eight, nine, ten; and gave him. So he slept all night quietly.

The *two and twentieth* was faire weather: in the morning our masters mate and foure more of the companie went up with our boat to sound the river higher up. The people of the countrey came not aboard till noone: but when they came, and saw the savages well, they were glad. So at three of the clocke in the afternoone they came aboard, and brought tabacco, and more beades, and gave them to our master, and made

¹ Close to the present site of Albany.

² Straps.

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an oration, and shewed him all the countrey round about. Then they sent one of their companie on land, who presently returned, and brought a great platter full of venison dressed by themselves; and they caused him to eate with them: then they made him reverence and departed, all save the old man that lay aboard. This night, at ten of the clocke, our boat returned in a showre of raine from sounding of the river; and found it to bee at an end for shipping to goe in. For they had beene up eight or nine leagues, and found but seven foot water, and unconstant soundings.¹

The *three and twentieth*, faire weather. At twelve of the clocke wee weighed, and went downe two leagues to a shoald that had two channels, one on the one side, and another on the other, and had little wind, whereby the tyde layed us upon it. So there wee sate on ground the space of an houre till the floud came. Then wee had a little gale of wind at the west. So wee got our ship into deepe water, and rode all night very well.

The *four and twentieth* was faire weather: the winde at the north-west, wee weighed, and went downe the river seven or eight leagues; and at halfe ebbe wee came on ground on a banke of oze in the middle of the river, and sate there till the floud. Then wee went on land, and gathered good store of chest-nuts.² At ten of the clocke wee came off into deepe water, and anchored.

The *five and twentieth* was faire weather, and the wind at south a stiffe gale. We rode still, and went on land to walke on the west side of the river, and found good ground for corne and other garden herbs, with great store of goodly oakes, and walnut-trees, and chest-nut trees, ewe³ trees, and trees of sweet

¹ Probably above the present site of Troy and above the mouth of the Mohawk River.

² At Hudson again.

³ Yew.

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wood in great abundance, and great store of slate for houses, and other good stones.

The *six* and *twentieth* was faire weather, and the wind at south a stiffe gale; wee rode still. In the morning our carpenter went on land, with our masters mate and foure more of our companie, to cut wood. This morning, two canoes came up the river from the place where we first found loving people, and in one of them was the old man that had lyen aboard of us at the other place. He brought another old man with him, which brought more stropes of beades and gave them to our master, and shewed him all the countrey there about as though it were at his command. So he made the two old men dine with him, and the old mans wife: for they brought two old women, and two young maidens of the age of sixteene or seventeene yeares with them, who behaved themselves very modestly. Our master gave one of the old men a knife, and they gave him and us tabacco. And at one of the clocke they departed downe the river, making signes that wee should come downe to them; for wee were within two leagues of the place where they dwelt.

The *seven* and *twentieth*, in the morning, was faire weather, but much wind at the north; we weighed and set our fore top-sayle, and our ship would not flat, but ran on the ozie banke at half ebbe. Wee layed out anchor to heave her off, but could not. So wee sate from halfe ebbe to halfe floud: then wee set our fore-sayle and mayne top-sail, and got downe sixe leagues. The old man came aboard, and would have had us anchor, and goe on land to eate with him: but the wind being faire, we would not yeeld to his request; so hee left us, being very sorrowfull for our departure. At five of the clocke in the afternoone, the wind came to the south south-west. So wee made a boord¹ or two, and anchored² in fourteene fathomes

¹ Tacked.

² At Red Hook, fourteen miles from Catskill Landing.

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water. Then our boat went on shoare to fish right against the ship. Our masters mate and boatswaine, and three more of the companie, went on land to fish, but could not finde a good place. They tooke foure or five and twentie mullets, breames, bases, and barbils;¹ and returned in an houre. We rode still all night.

The *eight and twentieth*, being faire weather, as soone as the day was light, wee weighed at halfe ebbe, and turned downe two leagues belowe water; for the streame doth runne the last quarter ebbe: then we anchored till high water. At three of the clocke in the after-noone we weighed, and turned downe three leagues, untill it was darke: then wee anchored.

The *nine and twentieth* was drie close weather; the wind at south, and south and by west; we weighed early in the morning, and turned downe three leagues by a lowe water, and anchored at the lower end of the long reach; for it is sixe leagues long. Then there came certaine Indians in a canoe to us, but would not come aboard. After dinner there came the canoe with other men, whereoff three came aboard us. They brought Indian wheat, which we bought for trifles. At three of the clocke in the after-noone wee weighed, as soone as the ebbe came, and turned downe to the edge of the mountaines, or the northermost of the mountaines, and anchored: because the high land hath many points, and a narrow channell, and hath manie eddie winds.² So we rode quietly all night in seven fathoms water.

The *thirtieth* was faire weather, and the wind at south-east, a stiffe gale betweene the mountaynes. We rode still the afternoone. The people of the countrey came aboard us and brought some small skinnes with them, which we bought for knives and trifles. This is a very pleasant place to build a towne on. The road is very neere, and very good for all

¹ Bass, and Barbels, a kind of Carp.

² Near Newburgh.

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windes, save an east north-east wind. The mountaynes look as if some metall or minerall were in them. For the trees that grow on them were all blasted, and some of them barren, with few or no trees on them. The people brought a stone aboard like to an emery (a stone used by glasiere to cut glasse), it would cut iron or steele: yet being bruised small, and water put to it, it made a color like blacke lead glistening: it is also good for painters colours. At three of the clocke they departed, and we rode still all night.

The *first of October*, faire weather, the wind variable betweene the west and the north. In the morning we weighed at seven of the clocke with the ebbe, and got downe below the mountaynes, which was seven leagues. Then it fell calme and the floud was come, and wee anchored at twelve of the clocke.¹ The people of the mountaynes came aboard us, wondering at our ship and weapons. We bought some small skinnes of them for trifles. This afternoone, one canoe kept hanging under our sterne with one man in it, which we could not keepe from thence, who got up by our rudder to the cabin window, and stole out my pillow, and two shirts, and two bandeleeres. Our masters mate shot at him, and strooke him on the brest, and killed him. Whereupon all the rest fled away, some in their canoes, and so leapt out of them into the water. We manned our boat, and got our things againe. Then one of them that swamme got hold of our boat, thinking to overthrow it. But our cooke tooke a sword, and cut off one of his hands, and he was drowned. By this time the ebbe was come, and we weighed and got downe two leagues: by that time it was darke. So we anchored in foure fathomes water, and rode well.

The *second*, faire weather. At break of day wee weighed, the winde being at north-west, and got downe seven leagues; then the floud was come strong, so we anchored. Then came
• one of the savages that swamme away from us at our going up

¹ Below Stony Point.

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the river with many other, thinking to betray us. But wee perceived their intent, and suffered none of them to enter our ship. Whereupon two canoes full of men, with their bowes and arrowes shot at us after our sterne: in recompence whereof we discharged sixe muskets, and killed two or three of them. Then above an hundred of them came to a point of land to shoot at us. There I shot a falcon at them, and killed two of them: whereupon the rest fled into the woods. Yet they manned off another canoe with nine or ten men, which came to meet us. So I shot at it also a falcon,¹ and shot it through, and killed one of them. Then our men with their muskets killed three or foure more of them.² So they went their way; within a while after wee got downe two leagues beyond that place, and anchored in a bay, cleere from all danger of them on the other side of the river, where we saw a very good piece of ground: and hard by it there was a cliffe, that looked of the colour of a white greene, as though it were either copper or silver myne: and I thinke it to be one of them, by the trees that grow upon it. For they be all burned, and the other places are greene as grasse; it is on that side of the river that is called Manna-hata. There we saw no people to trouble us: and rode quietly all night; but had much wind and raine.

The *third*, was very stormie; the wind at east north-east. In the morning, in a gust of wind and raine, our anchor came home, and we drove on ground, but it was ozie. Then as we were about to have out an anchor, the wind came to the north north-west, and drove us off againe. Then we shot an anchor, and let it fall in foure fathomes water, and weighed the other. Wee had much wind and raine, with thicke weather; so we roade still all night.

¹ A small cannon.

² These events took place at the upper end of the island of Manhattan, near Fort Washington and Fort Lee.

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The *fourth*, was faire weather, and the wind at north north-west; wee weighed and came out of the river, into which we had runne so farre. Within a while after, *wee came out also of the great mouth of the great river*, that runneth up to the north-west, borrowing upon the norther side of the same, thinking to have deepe water; for wee had sounded a great way with our boat at our first going in, and found seven, six, and five fathomes. So we came out that way, but we were deceived, for we had but eight foot and an halfe water: and so three, five, three, and two fathomes and an halfe. And then three, foure, five, sixe, seven, eight, nine and ten fathomes. And by twelve of the clocke we were cleere of all the inlet. Then we took in our boat, and set our mayne-sayle, and sprit-sayle, and our top-sayles, and steered away east south-east, and south-east by east off into the mayne sea: and the land on the souther side of the bay or inlet did beare at noone west and by south foure leagues from us.

The *fifth* was faire weather, and the wind variable betweene the north and the east. Wee held on our course south-east by east. At noone I observed and found our height to bee 39 degrees, 30 minutes. Our compasse varied sixe degrees to the west.

We continued our course toward England, without seeing any land by the way, all the rest of this moneth of *October*: and on the *seventh day of November, stilo novo*, being Saturday, by the grace of God we safely arrived in the range of Dartmouth, in Devonshire, in the yeere 1609.

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*Hudson's Third Voyage (1609). From Van Meteren's
"Historie der Nederlanden." Hague, 1614.*

WE have observed in our last book that the Directors of the Dutch East India Company sent out in March last year,¹ on purpose to seek a passage to China by north-east or north-west, an experienced English pilot, named Herry Hutson, in a Vlie boat,² having a crew of eighteen or twenty hands, partly English, partly Dutch.

This Captain Hutson left the Texel on the 6th of April,³ 1609, and, having doubled the Cape of Norway the 5th of May, directed his course along the northern coasts towards Nova Zembla; but he there found the sea as full of ice as he had found it in the preceding year, so that he lost the hope of effecting anything during the season. This circumstance, and the cold, which some of his men, who had been in the East Indies, could not bear, caused quarrels among the crew, they being partly English, partly Dutch, upon which Captain Hutson laid before them two propositions. The first of these was to go to the coast of America, to the latitude of 40°. This idea had been suggested to him by some letters and maps which his friend, Captain Smith, had sent him from Virginia, and by which he informed him that there was a sea leading into the western ocean, by the north of the southern English colony. Had this information been true (experience goes as yet to the contrary), it would have been of great advantage, as indicating a short way to India. The other proposition was to direct their search through Davis's Straits. This meeting with general approval, they sailed thitherward

¹ March, 1609.

² The *Half-Moon* was not a Vlie boat, but a yacht, for it had a topsail. A Vlie boat was a broad, flat-bottomed vessel intended to navigate the shoals at the Vlie; it had two masts, as the yacht had, but no topmast.—J. F. J.

³ New style; old style, March 27th.

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on the 14th of May, and arrived on the last day of May with a good wind at the Faroe Islands, where they stopped but twenty-four hours, to supply themselves with fresh water. After leaving these islands, they sailed on, till on the 18th of July they reached the coast of Nova Francia, under 44° , where they were obliged to land for the purpose of getting a new foremast, having lost theirs. They found one and set it up. They found this a good place for cod-fishing, as also for the traffic in skins and furs, which were to be got there at a very low price. But the crew behaved badly towards the people of the country, taking their property by force, out of which there arose quarrels among themselves. The English, fearing that between the two they would be outnumbered and worsted, were, therefore, afraid to make any further attempt. They left that place on the 26th of July, and kept out at sea till the 3d of August, when they were again near the coast, in 42° of latitude. Thence they sailed on, till on the 12th of August they reached the shore, under $37^{\circ} 45'$. Thence they sailed along the shore until we [*sic*] reached $40^{\circ} 45'$, where they found a good entrance, between two headlands, and thus entered on the 12th of September, into as fine a river as can be found, wide and deep, with good anchoring ground on both sides.

Their ship sailed up the river as far as $42^{\circ} 40'$. Then their boat went higher up. In the lower part of the river they found strong and warlike people; whilst in the highest part the people were more friendly and polite, and had an abundance of provisions, skins, and furs, of martens and foxes, and many other commodities, as birds and fruit, even white and red grapes. These Indians traded most amicably with the people from the ship. And of all the above-mentioned commodities they brought some home. When they had thus been about fifty leagues up the river, they returned on the 4th of October, and went again to sea. More could have been done if the

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crew had been willing, and if the want of some necessary provisions had not prevented it. While at sea, they held counsel together, but were of different opinions. The mate, a Dutchman, advised to winter in Newfoundland, and to search the north-western passage of Davis throughout. This was opposed by Hutson. He was afraid of his mutinous crew, who had sometimes savagely threatened him; and he feared that during the cold season they would entirely consume their provisions, and would then be obliged to return, many of the crew being ill and sickly. Nobody, however, spoke of returning home to Holland, which circumstance made the captain still more suspicious. He proposed, therefore, to sail to Ireland, and winter there, which they all agreed to. At last they arrived at Dartmouth, in England, the 7th of November, whence they informed their employers, the Directors of the East India Company in Holland, of their voyage. They proposed to them to go out again for a search in the north-west, and that, besides the pay and what they already had in the ship, fifteen hundred florins should be laid out for an additional supply of provisions. Hutson also wanted six or seven of his crew exchanged for others, and their number raised to twenty. He would then sail from Dartmouth about the 1st of March, so as to be in the north-west towards the end of that month, and there to spend the whole of April and the first half of May in killing whales and other animals in the neighbourhood of Panar Island, thence to sail to the north-west, and there to pass the time till the middle of September, and then to return to Holland along the north-eastern coast of Scotland. Thus this voyage ended.

A long time elapsed, through contrary winds, before the Company could be informed of the arrival of the ship in England. Then they ordered the ship and crew to return as soon as possible. But, when they were going to do so, Herry Hutson and the other Englishmen of the ship were commanded by the government there not to leave England, but to

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serve their own country. Many persons thought it rather unfair that these sailors should thus be prevented from laying their accounts and reports before their employers, as the enterprise in which they had been engaged was such as to benefit navigation in general. These latter events took place in January, 1610; and it was thought probable that the English themselves would send ships to Virginia, to explore further the river aforesaid.

VIII.

VOYAGES OF ARGALL AND SOMERS, 1610; HARLOW AND HOBSON, 1611.

1. 1610. *Samuel Argall and Sir George Somers.*
*Narrative by Argall, from Purchas.*¹



THESE mariners belong rather to the history of Virginia than to that of the New England coast, but Argall was an adventurer of the ubiquitous sort, like John Smith. Argall and Somers were sent from Jamestown in 1610 by the Governor, Lord de la Warr, to the Bermudas after supplies. The two captains lost each other and could not find the Bermudas, owing to a severe hurricane. Argall was first blown to the Maine coast, and after catching codfish off the coast at Sagadahoc, he returned to Jamestown. Afterwards Somers also put in at Sagadahoc and then renewed his effort to reach the Bermudas, in which effort he succeeded, but soon after died and was buried in the islands. In this year, 1610, began the first serious attempts to plant a colony in Newfoundland, attempts prolonged through twelve years, 1610-1622.²

¹ IV, pp. 1758-1762. (XIX, pp. 73-84).

² IV, pp. 1876-1891. (XIX, pp. 406-448).

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAINE SAMVEL ARGAL,
FROM IAMES TOWNE IN VIRGINIA, TO SEEK
THE ILE OF BERMUDA, AND HIS MISSING
THE SAME, HIS PUTTING OUER TOWARD
SAGADAHOC AND CAPE COD, AND SO BACKE
AGAINE TO IAMES TOWNE, BEGUN THE
NINETEENTH OF IUNE, 1610.

SIR GEORGE SUMMERS, being bound for the Ile of
Bermuda with two Pinnaces, the one called the *Patience*,
wherein he sailed himselfe, set saile from Iames Towne in
Virginia, the nineteenth of Iune, 1610. The two and twentieth
at noone we came to an anchor at Cape Henry, to take more
balast. The weather proued very wet: so wee road vnder the
Cape till two of the clocke, the three and twentieth in the
morning. Then we weighed and stood off to Sea, the wind at
South-west. And till eight of the clocke at night it was all
Southerly, and then that shifted to South-west. The Cape
then bearing West, about eight leagues off. Then we stirred¹
away South-east. The foure and twentieth, at noone I ob-
serued the Sunne, and found my selfe to bee in thirtie sixe
degrees, fortie seuen minutes, about twentie leagues off from
the Land. From the foure and twentieth at noone, to the fve
and twentieth at noone, sixe leagues East, the wind Southerly,
but for the most part it was calme. From the fve and twen-
tieth at noone, to the sixe and twentieth about sixe of the
clocke in the morning, the winde was all Southerly, and but
little. And then it beganne to blow a fresh gale at West
South-west. So by noone I had sailed fourteene leagues East,
South-east pricked. From the sixe and twentieth at noone, to

¹ Steered.

CAPTAIN ARGALL'S VOYAGE

the seuen and twentieth at noone, twentie leagues East, South-east. The wind shifting from the West, South-west Southerly, and so to the East, and the weather faire, but close. From the seuen and twentieth at noone, to the eight and twentieth at noone, sixe and twentie leagues East, South-east, the wind shifting backe againe from the East to the West. Then by mine obseruation I found the ship to be in thirtie fve degrees fiftie foure minutes. From the eight and twentieth at noone, to the nine and twentieth at noone, thirtie sixe leagues East by South, the wind at West, North-west. Then by my obseruation I found the ship to be in thirtie fve degrees, thirtie minutes pricked. From the nine and twentieth at noone to the thirtieth at noone, thirtie fve leagues East, South-east. The wind shifting betweene West, North-west, and West, South-west, blowing a good fresh gale. Then by my obseruation I found the ship to be in thirtie foure degrees, fortie nine minutes pricked. From the thirtieth of Iune at Noone, to the first of Iuly at noone, thirtie leagues South-east by East, the winde at west, then I found the ship in thirtie foure degrees pricked.

From the first of Iuly at noone, to the Iuly second at noon, twentie leagues East, South-east southerly, the wind West, then I found the ship to bee in thirtie three degrees, thirtie minutes pricked, the weather very faire. From the second at noone, to the third at foure of the clocke in the afternoone it was calme, then it beganne to blow a resonable fresh gale at South-east: so I made account that the ship had driuen about sixe leagues in that time East. The Sea did set all about the West. From that time to the fourth at noone, seuteene leagues East by North, the wind shifting betweene South-east and South South-west, then I found the ship to bee in thirtie three degrees, fortie minutes, the weather continued very faire. From the fourth at noone, to the fifth at noone, ten leagues South-east, the wind and weather as before, then I found the ship to be in thirtie three degrees, seuteene minutes pricked. From the fift at

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noone, to the sixt at noone, eight leagues Southwest, then I found the ship to be in thirtie two degrees, fiftie seuen minutes pricked; the wind and weather continued as before, only we had a small showre or two of raine. From the sixt at noone, to the seuenth at noone, seunteene leagues East by North, then I found the ship to be in thirtie three degrees, the wind and weather as before. From the seuenth at noone, to the eight at noone, fourteene leagues North-east, then I found the ship to be in thirtie three degrees thirtie two minutes, the wind and weather continued as before. From the eight at noone to the ninth at noone, fve leagues South-east, there I found the ship to be in thirtie-three degrees, twentie one minutes, the wind at South-west, the weather very faire. From the ninth at noone, to the tenth at noone, fve leagues South, the wind westerly; but for the most part it was calme, and the weather very faire. From the tenth at noone, to the eleuenth at noone it was calme, and so continued vntill nine of the clock the same night, then it began to blow a reasonable fresh gale at South-east, and continued all that night betweene South-east east and South, and vntil the twelfth day at noone: by which time I had sailed fifteene leagues West southerly: then I found the ship in thirtie three degrees, thirtie minutes. From that time to foure of the clock the twelfth day in the morning twelue leagues West by North, the wind all southerly, and then it shifted betweene South and South-west, then wee tacked about and stood South-east by South: so by noone I had sayled fve leagues South-east by East; then I found the ship in thirtie three degrees ten minutes. From the thirteenth at noone, to the fourteenth at noone, twenty leagues South-east by East, the wind shifting betweene the South-west, and West South-west, then I found the ship to be in thirtie two degrees, thirtie fve minutes. From the fourteenth at noone, to the fifteenth at noone, twentie leagues South-east, then I found the ship to be in thirty two degrees, the wind as before:

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then we tacked about, and lay North-west by West. From the fifteenth at noone, to the sixteenth at noone, twelue leagues North by West, the wind shifting betweene South-west and West, and the weather very stormy, with many sudden gusts of wind and rayne.

And about sixe of the clocke in the afternoone, being to windward of our Admirall I bare vp vnder his lee: who when I hayled him told me that he would tack it vp no longer, because he was not able to keepe the sea any longer, for lacke of a road and water: but that hee would presently steere away North North-west, to see if he could fetch Cape Cod. Which without delay he put in execution. His directions I followed: so from the sixteenth day at noone, to the seuenteenth at noone I had sailed thirtie eight leagues North North-west: then I found my ship to be in thirtie foure degrees, ten minutes. The seuenteenth and eighteenth dayes were very wet and stormy, and the winds shifting all points of the Compasse. The nineteenth day, about foure of the clocke in the morning it began to cleere vp, and then we had a very stiffe gale between East and North-east. From the seuenteenth at noone, to the nineteenth at noone, I had sayled fiftie fve leagues North North-west, then I found the ship to be thirtie sixe degrees, thirtie minutes. From the nineteenth at noone, to the twentieth at noone, thirty fve leagues North-west: then I was in thirty seuen degrees, fifty two minutes, the weather now was fairer and the wind all easterly. From the twentieth at noone, to the twentie one at noone, we sayled twenty leagues North by West, the wind betweene East and South-east, and the weather very faire. At the sunne setting I obserued, and found thirteene degrees and an halfe of westerly variation, and vntill midnight we had a reasonable fresh gale of wind all southerly, and then it fell calme and rained, and so continued very little wind vntill the two and twentieth at noone, and shifting all the points of the Compasse: yet by mine observa-

tion that I made then, I found that the ship had run twentie five leagues North, for I found her to be in forty degrees, one minute, which maketh me thinke that there was some tide or current that did set Northward. Againe, those that had the second watch did say, That in their watch they did see a race, and that ship did driue apace to the Northward, when she had not a breath of wind.

From the two and twentieth at noone, vntill ten of the clocke at night, we had a fresh gale of wind, between East and South-east, and then it shifted all westerly, and so continued vntill two of the clocke the twenty three in the morning: and then it began to be very foggy and but little wind, yet shifting all the points of the Compasse, and so continued vntill ten of the clocke, and then it began to cleere vp. At twelue of the clocke I obserued, and then I found the ship to be in fortie degrees fiftie minutes: so from the twenty two at noone, to the twenty three at noone I had sayled twenty leagues Northward. From the twenty three at noone, to twenty foure, at three of the clocke in the morning it was calme, and then we had a reasonable fresh gale of wind all southerly, and so it continued vntill noon southerly, in which time I had sailed twelue leagues North. And about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, we had forty seuen fathoms of water, which water we did find to be changed grasse green in the morning, yet we would not heaue a lead, because our Admirall was so farre on head of us: who about three of the clocke in the afternoone lay by the lee, and fished till I came up to him: and then I fitted myselve and my boat, and fished untill sixe of the clocke. And then the Admirall fitted his sailes, and stirred away North, whom I followed with all the speed I could. But before seuen of the clocke there fell such a myst, that I was faine to shoot off a Peece, which he answered with a Cornet that he had aboard. So with hallowing and making a noyse one to another all the night we kept company. About two of the clocke, the twenty

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five day in the morning we took in all our sailes, an lay at Hull untill five of the clocke: and then finding but small store of fish, we set saile and stirred away Northwest to fetch the mayne land to relieue ourselues with wood and water, which we stood in great need of. About two of the clocke in the afternoone we tooke in all our sailes and lay at Hull, at which time I heaved the lead three times together, and had three sundry kindes of soundings. The first a blacke peppery sand, full of pebble stones. The second blacke peppery, and no stones: The third, blacke peppery, and two or three stones.

From the fourth at noone, to the twentieth five, at two of the clocke in the afternoone, I sayled thirteene leagues West North-west: and the weather continuing very foggy, thicke, and rainy, about five of the clock it began to cease, and then we began to fish, and so continued untill seven of the clocke in betweene thirty and forty fathoms, and then we could fish no longer. So hauing gotten between twentieth and thirty Cods, we left for that night: and at five of the clocke, the twenty sixe in the morning we began to fish againe, and so continued untill ten of the clocke, and then it would fish no longer: in which time we had taken neere one hundred Cods, and a couple of Hollybuts. All this while wee had betweene thirty and forty fathoms water: before one of the clocke in the afternoone we found the ship driuen into one hundred and twenty fathoms, and soft blacke Ose. Then Sir George Somers sent me word, that he would set saile, and stand in for the Riuer of Sagadahoc; whose directions I followed.

Before two of the clocke we set saile, and stirred away North-west by North, the wind South South-west, and the weather continued very foggy. About eight of the clocke wee tooke in all of our sailes, and lay at Hull at that night. The seven and twentieth, about seven of the clocke in the morning we heaved the lead, and had no ground in one hundred and twentieth fathoms. Then I shot off a Peece, but could not heare

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none answer from our Admirall: and the weather was so thicke, that we could not see a Cables length from our ship. Betweene nine and ten of the clocke we did thinke that we did heare a Peece of Ordnance to windward: which made me suppose our Admirall had set saile, and that it was a warning piece from him. So I set sayle and stood close by the wind, and kept an hallowing and a noise to try whether I could find him againe: the wind was at South-west, and I stood away West North-west. From the sixe and twentieth, at two of the clocke in the afternoone, to eight of the clocke at night I had sayled nine leagues North-west. The seuen and twentieth at noone I heaved the Lead, in one hundred and twenty fathoms, and had no ground. Then I stirred away North-west, till four of the clocke at night: then I heaved the Lead againe one hundred and twenty fathoms, and had no ground. Then I took all my sailes and lay at Hull, and I had sayled seuen leagues North-west. The eight and twentieth, and seuen of the clocke in the morning I did sound in one hundred and twenty fathoms, and had no ground. Then I set sayle againe, and steered away North, and North by West. At noone I heaved in one hundred and twenty fathoms againe, and had no ground. So I steered on my course still, the wind shifted betweene South and South-west, and the fog continued. At foure of the clocke in the afternoone, I heaved one hundred twenty fathoms againe, and had no ground: so I stood on until eight of the clocke, by which time I had sailed twelue leagues: then I heaved the Lead againe, and had blacke Ose, and one hundred thirty five fathoms water. Then I tooke in all my sayles and lay at hull untill the nine and twentieth, at five of the clocke in the morning. Then I set saile againe, and steered away North and North by West. At eight of the clocke I heaved the Lead againe, and had blacke Ose in one hundred and thirty fathoms water. Between eleuen and twelue of the clocke it began to thunder, but the fogge continued not still. About two of the

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clocke in the afternoone, I went out with my Boat my selfe and heaved the Lead, and had black Ose in ninety fathoms water: by which time I had sailed six leagues North by West more. Then I tooke in all my sayles sauing my Fore-course and Bonnet, and stood in with those sailes onely. About sixe of the clocke I sounded againe, and then I had sixty fve fathoms water. As soone as I came aboard it cleered up, and then I saw a small Iland, which bare North about two leagues off; whereupon I stood in untill eight of the clocke: and then I stood off againe untill two of the clocke in the morning the thirtieth day.¹ Then I stood in againe, and about eight of the clocke I was faire aboard the Iland. Then I manned my Boat and went on shoare, where I found great store of Seales: and I killed three Seales with my hanger. This Iland is not halfe a mile about, nothing but a Rocke, which seemed to be very rich Marble stone. And a South South-west Moon maketh a full sea. About ten of the clocke I came aboard againe, with some Wood that I had found upon the Iland, for there had beene some folks that had made fiers there. Then I stood ouer to another Iland that did bear North off me about three leagues; this small rockie Iland lyeth in forty foure degrees. About seuen of the clocke that night I came to an anchor among many Ilands in eight fathoms water: and upon one of these Ilands I fitted my selfe with Wood and Water, and Ballast.

The third day of August, being fitted to put to Sea againe, I caused the Master of the ship to open the boxe wherein my Commission was, to see what directions I had, and for what place I was bound to shape my course. Then I tried whether there were any fish there or not, and I found reasonable good store there; for I stayed there fishing till the twelfth of August: and then finding that the fishing did faile, I thought good to returne to the Iland where I had killed the Seales, to see

¹ Seal Rock and Matinicus, outside Penobscot Bay.

whether I could get any store of them or not; for I did find that they were very nourishing meate, and a great reliefe to my men, and that they would be very well saued with salt to keepe a long time. But when I came thither I could not by any meanes catch any. The fourteenth day at noone I obserued the Sun, and found the Iland to lie in forty three degrees, forty minutes. Then I shaped my course for Cape Cod, to see whether I could get any fish there or not: so by the fifteenth at noone, I had sailed thirty two leagues South-west, the wind for the most part betweene North-west and North. From the fifteenth at noone, to the sixteenth at noone I ran twenty leagues South, the wind shifting betweene West and South-west. And then I sounded and had ground in eightene fathoms water, full of shels and peble stones of diuers colours, some greene, and some blewish, some like diamants, and some speckled. Then I tooke in all my sayles, and set all my company to fishing, and fished till eight of the clock that night: and finding but little fish there, I set sayle againe, and by the seuteenth at noone I had sayled ten leagues West by North, the wind shifting betweene South and South-west. From noone till sixe of the clocke at night, foure leagues North-west, the wind shifting between West and South-west. Then it did blow so hard that I tooke in all my sayles, and lay at hull all that night, untill fiue of the clocke the eighteenth day in the morning: and then I set saile againe, and by noone I had sailed foure leagues North-west, the wind betweene West and South-west. From the eighteenth at noone, to the nineteenth at noone ten leagues West by West, the wind shifting betweene South and South-west, and the weather very thick and foggy.

About seuen of the clocke at night the fogge began to break away, and the wind did shift westerly, and by midnight it was shifted to the North, and there it did blow very hard untill the twenty at noone: but the weather was very cleere, and then by my obseruation I found the ship to bee in the latitude

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of forty one degrees, forty foure minutes, and I had sailed twenty leagues South-west by West. From the nineteenth at noone, to the twentieth at noone: about two of the clocke in the afternoone I did see an Hed-land, which did beare off me South-west, about foure leagues: so I steered with it, taking it to bee Cape Cod; and by foure of the clocke I was fallen among so many shoales, that it was fieve of the clocke the next day in the morning before I could get cleere of them, it is a very dangerous place to fall withall: for the shoales lie at the least ten leagues off from the Land; and I had upon one of them but one fathom and an halfe water, and my Barke did draw seuen foot. This Land lyeth South-west and North-east, and the shoales lie off from it South and South by West, and so along toward the North. At the North-west by West Guards I obserued the North-starre, and found the ship to be in the latitude of fortie one degrees, fiftie minutes, being then in the middle of the Sholdes; and I did finde thirteene degrees westerly variation then likewise. Thus finding the place not to be for my turne, as soon as I was cleere of these dangers, I thought it fit to returne to James Town in Virginia, to the Lord De-lawarre, my Lord Gouvernour, and there to attend his command: so I shaped my course for that place. [*What follows is but the log of that voyage.* He reached Cape Charles, August 31st.]

2. 1611. *Edward Harlow and Nicholas Hobson.*
Narrative lost.



PURCHAS writes that among the materials that he omits for lack of space is “a written large Tractate of Mawaushen,¹ and the Voyage of Master Edward Harlie (one of the first Planters with Captain Popham) and Nicholas Hobson to those parts, 1611, with divers letters from Captain Popham and others.” Captain Harlow was Master of the Ordinance in the Sagadahoc colony of 1607 under Popham and Gilbert.

Captain John Smith at the beginning of the sixth book of his “Generall Historie” gives what is now the best account of the expedition of 1611.

“The right Honourable Henry, Earle of Southampton and those of the Ile of Wight, imploied Captaine Edward Harlow to discover an Ile supposed [to be] about Cape Cod, but they found their plots had much abused them; for falling with Monahigan, they found onely Cape Cod, no Ile but the maine, there they detained three Salvages aboard them, called Pechmo, Monopet, and Pekenimme, but Pechmo leapt overboard, and got away; and not long after with his consorts cut their Boat from their sterne, got her on shore, and so filled her with sand, and guarded her with Bowes and Arrowes, the English lost her. Not farre from thence they had three men sorely wounded with Arrowes; Anchoring at the Ile of Nohono, the Salvages in their Canowes assaulted the Ship till the English Guns made them retire; yet here they tooke Sakaweston that,

¹ Indian name for the country known as Nova Scotia. Purchas IV, 1837, 1874 (XIX, pp. 400-405).

VOYAGE OF HARLOW AND HOBSON

after he had lived many yeares in England went a Souldier to the Warres of Bohemia. At Capawe¹ they tooke Coneconam and Epenou, but the people at Agawam used them kindly. So with five Salvages they returned for England.”²

There is reason to believe that the expedition of Harlow and Hobson came into collision with a French voyager named Plastrier, from Honfleur at “an isle called Emmetenic” (Matinicus).

Plastrier, who was exploring the Kennebec, was arrested, and released only upon promise to abstain from trade along that coast. Plastrier reported this at Port Royal. The commander there, the younger Bien-court, sailed out to punish the English and to assert the counterclaims of France, but finding only fishing boats at Matinicus he went back without striking a blow. He did, however, erect upon the island a cross with the arms of France.³ If it was not Harlow and Hobson who forbade Plastrier to trade, it was probably Captain Williams, the agent of Sir Francis Popham, at Monhegan and Pemaquid.

It is probable that Harlow and Hobson were ordered by Gorges and Popham to bring some Indians to England. From the beginning Gorges had favored that method of attempting to secure friendly relations with Indian tribes. He hoped to learn their secrets, and all of Gorges' plans for traffic or settlement placed in the forefront the discovery of precious metals and of a passage to Cathay.

¹ The island of Martha's Vineyard. ² Purchas, IV, pp. 1828, 1829.

³ Cf. Fr. Biard's account of these events in *Jesuit Relations*, II, 31-35, 47.

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Captain Smith says, after his account of Harlow and Hobson's voyage, "Sir Francis Popham sent divers times one Captaine Williams to Monahigan onely to trade and make core fish (salted cod), but for any Plantations there was no more speeches." This was not an accurate statement, for it is evident that the Gorges and Popham connection never gave up the idea of a colony. Captain Williams probably visited the coast yearly, if he did not stay there continuously, not only to make money for his employers but to defend their title, and to keep watch for evidences of minerals.

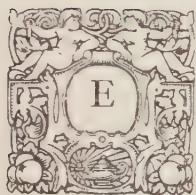
IX.

REVIVAL AND RUIN OF THE FRENCH COLONY OF ACADIE, 1610-1613.

1610. Sieur de Poutrincourt reoccupies Port Royal.

1611. Fathers Biard and Massé come to Port Royal.

1613. The Jesuits, supported by Mme. de Guercheville, found a new colony at Mt. Desert. Raids of Captain Argall destroy the settlements. Narratives of Father Biard and Marc Lescarbot.



EARLY in the winter of 1610, Jean de Biencourt, Sieur de Poutrincourt, completed his preparations to reoccupy his settlement at Port Royal which had been vacant since the departure of Champlain in 1607. He was of course aware that the proprietary title of the surrounding territory had passed from de Monts to the Marquise de Guercheville, but he seems to have hoped to escape from interference by professing great zeal for the conversion of the savages to the true faith. He carried with him to Port Royal, not Jesuit fathers as the officers of that order seem to have expected, but a secular priest named Jessé Fléché. Poutrincourt arrived at Port Royal near the end of May, 1610, a few days after the murder of the king had taken place.¹

¹ May 14, 1610.

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Poutrincourt and his company found the buildings and contents untouched, a fact which testifies eloquently to the regard which the Indians must have felt for the former colony. Among these natives the worthy Fléché began at once to make converts. On the 24th of June he baptized twenty one of them, including their chief, Membertou. This triumph of grace was speedily reported in France by Poutrincourt's son, Charles de Biencourt, who was sent back to procure supplies. By the end of August Poutrincourt's friend Lescarbot was at work upon a most piously worded pamphlet entitled "*La Conversion des Savages, qui ont esté baptizés en la Nouvelle France cette annee, 1610. Avec un bref recit du voyage du Sieur De Poutrincourt.*" This was published in Paris early in September with a dedication to the Queen.¹ Nearly every page of this essay testifies to the eager desire of Poutrincourt and his friends to gather the heathen into the one true fold.

If this pamphlet was intended to divert the Jesuits from making Acadia a missionary field, it failed. Young Biencourt was obliged to bring back with him to Port Royal in June, 1611, two Jesuit fathers, Pierre Biard and Enemond Massé, after a struggle in which the Queen and Mme. de Guercheville and the Huguenot backers of the colony were involved. Father Biard's report to his provincial (*Jesuit Relations*, I, 139-183) shows the righteous wrath of the Fathers against the heretic merchants of Dieppe who had endeavored to

¹ It is reprinted and translated in *Jesuit Relations*, I, 49-113.

SECOND ACADIAN SETTLEMENT

prevent their embarkation, but apparently the fathers did not suspect that they might be also unwelcome to the Biencourts.

After some bickerings in the colony the Jesuits wished to found a colony of their own. Mme. de Guercheville meanwhile had obtained a royal confirmation of her title to the coasts of New France from the St. Lawrence to Florida with the sole exception of Port Royal. She sent in the spring of 1613 a ship with two more Jesuits and a small company who were to take the fathers at Port Royal and build a new settlement elsewhere. The four Jesuits and their followers, about fifty in number, proceeded to Somes Sound at Mt. Desert, where they landed, erected crosses and altars, and began a fortification. The settlement was called "St. Sauveur."

Just at that moment came Captain Samuel Argall's raids, one after another, overwhelming in a common destruction the colonies of the Jesuits and of Poutrincourt. St. Sauveur was utterly destroyed. Port Royal was not abandoned. The colonists who had escaped from the English attack rebuilt the settlement, but the power and ambition of the colony were destroyed and were not revived until after 1632. Argall's savage attack probably prevented Acadia from anticipating New England. Poutrincourt, who was in France at the time, was financially ruined. He is said to have visited Port Royal again in 1614, but returned to France and was killed in war in 1615.

Captain Samuel Argall, in the spring of 1613, had

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

served the Virginia colony well by kidnapping Pocahontas and keeping her as a hostage on his ship in the James River until her father could be brought to terms. This bold stroke helped to bring about her marriage to John Rolfe in April, 1614.

No sooner had Argall completed this service in reducing Powhatan to submission than Governor Sir Thomas Dale sent him north to destroy the French colonies. This first serious collision of France and England in America is herewith given in three versions.¹

The narrative from the Jesuit point of view is placed first. Father Biard's letters to the provincial of his order at Paris and to the general at Rome give the story of events as they unrolled in 1611 and 1612. These letters may be found in the first two volumes of the Jesuit Relations. Biard's first story of the English onslaught and the resultant destruction was contained in a letter to Father Claude Acquaviva, General of the Society of Jesus. This letter was dated May 26, 1614, at Amiens.²

These letters are all fused in the historical tract which Father Biard published at Lyons, in 1616, under the title, "*Relation de la Nouvelle-France: de ses Terres, Naturel du Pays, et de ses Habitans:*"

Item, du Voyage des Peres Jesuites aux dictes con-trees, et de ce qu'ils y ont faict jusques a leur prinse par

¹ Purchas, IV, 1807-1809, or in Macm. ed., XIX, 213-216.

² See Jesuit Rels., III, 5-19; also Tyler's "*Narratives of Early Virginia*," pp. 227-234, and Brown's "*Genesis of the U. S.*," II, 700-706.

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les Anglois. Faicte par le P. Pierre Biard, grenoblois, de la Compagnie de Jesus."¹

Second, the story from Poutrincourt's standpoint is given in the selection from the fifth book of Marc Lescarbot's *Histoire de Nouvelle France*, third edition, published in 1618. This was the only edition which contained the full account of Port Royal colony during the three years of Poutrincourt's last effort.

Third and finally, the brief English account of the destruction of the settlements is reprinted from Purchas. This represents doubtless Captain Argall's official report, with such additional information as Lescarbot's history furnished.

¹ Reprinted in *Jesuit Rels.*, III, 21-283; IV, 7-167. The portions here quoted are in III, pp. 261-283; IV, 9-79.

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1. *Father Pierre Biard's Relation of New France.*

[From Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites' edition of *The Jesuit Relations*, Vol. III, beginning at p. 161, in the middle of chapter XII of Fr. Biard's narrative. Owing to a mistake of either author or printer, the chapter following Chapter X is numbered XII. It should have been XI.]

YOU have been told how, towards the end of the year 1607, sieur de Mont's entire company returned to France, and this new France was then entirely deserted by our countrymen. However, in the following year, 1608, sieur de Monts chose as his Lieutenant sieur de Champlain, and sent him on a tour of discovery along the great St. Lawrence river: Champlain did admirably there, establishing the settlement of Kebec.¹ But as to the deeds, journeys, and discoveries of the said Champlain, there is no need of my outlining them to you, as he himself has given such long and excellent descriptions of them in his books.

Now sieur Jean de Biencourt, called de Potrin-court, before sieur de Monts left new France, asked from him the gift of Port Royal. Sieur de Monts granted it to him, stipulating that within the two succeeding years sieur de Potrin-court should go there with several other families to cultivate and inhabit it, which he promised to do. Now in 1607, all the French having returned (as has been said), sieur de Potrin-court presented to the late Henry the Great, of immortal memory, the deed of gift made to him by sieur de Monts, humbly requesting his Majesty to ratify it. The King favored the Request, and, contriving some way by which he could give effective aid to this French colony, told Father Coton that he would like to make use of his Society for the conversion of

¹ Founded, July 3, 1608. The word is of Indian origin, and means "the narrowing of the water."

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the Savages; that he should write to the Father-General about it; and that they should designate some persons who should prepare to undertake these voyages; that he would summon them at the first opportunity; promising henceforward two thousand livres for their support.

Father Coton obeyed his Majesty, and soon through all the colleges of France it was understood that persons were to be chosen for this mission. Many offered themselves to take part in the work, as is usual in such expeditions, in which there is a great deal of work and very little honor; and among others those who presented themselves was Father Pierre Biard, then teaching Theology at Lyons; God willed that the said Father should be chosen and sent to Bourdeaux towards the end of the year 1608. For they thought at Lyons that the project of so powerful a Prince, having been known so many months before, could not be otherwise than speedily executed. But Father Biard was as much deceived in regard to the place, as the time. For at Bourdeaux they were very much surprised when they heard why he had come there. There was no news of any embarkation for Canada, but there was of the former wreck and ruin, upon which each one philosophized in his own fashion. No preparation, no reports or tidings.

Towards the end of the year 1609, sieur de Potrin-court came to Paris, where his Majesty, having learned that, contrary to his belief, the said sieur had not stirred from France, (for the King supposed that he had crossed the sea immediately after having obtained confirmation of the Port Royal grant), was angry with him. Whereupon the said sieur, very much aggrieved, answered that, since his Majesty had this affair so much at heart, he would take leave of him at once, to go directly and look after the equipment for his voyage. Now Father Coton, who was troubled about Father Biard, and about the great invitation he had given him in the King's name, having heard of the farewell of sieur de Potrin-court,

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went to see him and offered him the company of some of his Order. He received the answer that it would be better to wait until the following year; that as soon as he arrived at Port Royal he would send his son back to France, and that with him, all things being better arranged, such persons should come as it might please the King to send. Thereupon he left Paris, and consumed the entire Winter in making preparations.

The following year, 1610, he embarked towards the end of February, but arrived very late at Port Royal, to wit, about the beginning of June: here, having assembled as many Savages as he could, he had about 24 or 25 of them baptized on saint John's day, by a Priest named Messire Jossé Flesche,¹ surnamed "the Patriarch." A little while afterwards, he sent back to France sieur de Biencourt, his son, about nineteen years old, to take this news of the baptism of the Savages, and to speedily bring back relief; for they were very poorly provided against hunger for the coming Winter.

He was able to find assistance through an association which he had formed with Sr. Thomas Robin, called de Coloignes,² belonging to a good old family, and under the authority of his father; through this association it was agreed that the said de Coloignes should provide the settlement of Port Royal for five years, with all necessary things, and that he should furnish abundant means for traffic with the Savages; and in return for this he would have emoluments which it would be tedious here to enumerate.

¹ Jessé Fléché, a secular priest from the diocese of Langres. He was authorized by the papal nuncio to absolve in all cases, except those reserved to the Pope. Poutrincourt evidently intended to Christianize his domains so rapidly that the Jesuits would not need to come. The Jesuits afterwards condemned these baptisms by wholesale. Fléché was so popular among the Micmac Indians that his nickname "Le Patriarch," corrupted into "Le Patliasse," is still current among them as the name of a priest. Cf. *Jes. Rels.*, I, p. 311, note 25.

² Dujardin and Duquesne, two Huguenot merchants of Dieppe, agreed to furnish equipment and supplies in return for a partnership in Poutrincourt's traffic in furs and codfish.

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De Coloignes and Biencourt arrived at Paris the following August, and through them the Court learned of these Baptisms, and new conversions which we have mentioned. All were very much pleased about it, but unfortunately this holiday was not the one of gifts.

Now Madame la Marquise de Guercheville, among her other rare and extraordinary virtues, is ardently zealous for the glory of God and the conversion of souls:¹ seeing such an excellent opportunity, she asked Father Coton if some of his order were not going to new France this time. Father Coton replied that he was very much surprised at sieur de Potrin-court, who had promised him that, when his son returned, he would summon those of his order who had been chosen by the King; but, in spite of this, he made no mention of them either in his letters, or in his commissions. Madame la Marquise, wishing to know all about the matter, made inquiries of sieur Robin: He answered that all the responsibility of embarkation had been delegated to him, but he had no especial commission for the Jesuits; that nevertheless he knew very well that sieur de Potrin-court would feel very highly honored to have them with him; and, as to their maintenance, he himself would take charge of that, as he was doing in regard to all the rest of the expenses. "You will not be burdened with them," answered madame la Marquise, "because the King defrays their expenses." And with these words she sent de Coloignes to Father Christofle Baltasar, Provincial. He, upon hearing these promises, summoned Father Pierre Biard² (who was then at Poitiers) to come to Paris, and to him was given, as a companion, Father Enemond

¹ Antoinette de Pons, Marquise de Guercheville, lady of honor to Marie de Médicis. She would not take the name of her second husband, Charles du Plessis, seigneur de Liancourt, because it had been the title of Gabrielle d'Estrées, the favorite of Henry IV.

² Born at Grenoble, 1567, died at Avignon, November 17, 1622. He was professor of Hebrew and of scholastic theology at Lyons, when he was called to go to Acadia.

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Massé,¹ of Lyons. These two, thus destined for the voyage to Canada, conferred with sieurs Robin and Biencourt, and having perfected arrangements, the meeting-place was appointed at Dieppe on the 24th of October of the same year, 1610. "For by that time," they said, "everything will be ready, if the wind and the tide are favorable."

So the Jesuits were soon in a state of preparation. For the Queen had sent to them the five hundred écus promised² by the late King, and had added a very favorable recommendation by word of mouth. Madame la Marquise de Vernueil furnished them amply with sacred vessels and robes for saying Mass; Madame de Sourdis furnished them liberally with linen, and Madame de Guercheville granted them a very fair viaticum.³ Thus provided for, they reached Dieppe at the time appointed.

Chapter XIII (i.e., XII).

The Oppositions, and Difficulties, Which Arose at Dieppe : And How They Were Overcome.

The persecuted and triumphant Woman, whom St. John saw in his Revelation, namely the Church of God, or more mystically, any heroic soul, *Cruciat ut pariat*; endures many convulsions and pains, in order that it may bear fruit. So the conception and development of every good work requires grace.¹ For, in fine, without this celestial seed and germ, our hearts could not conceive nor fashion a living and fruitful organism. But when it comes time for the good work to ripen, I mean when the time of this pious birth of virtue approaches, then it seems that all conspire for the suffocation of this divine creature, that it seems necessary to experience the

¹ Born at Lyons, 1574, died at Sillery, Canada, 1646. He was a professor of theology at Lyons. He came to Canada in 1625-1629, and again in 1633.

² The écu was equivalent to \$1.108.

³ Money for their support, derived in this case probably from the amounts invested by Mme. de Guercheville with Biencourt for the fur and fish traffic.

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pains and torments which Satan arouses, and to fear a fruitless abortion, rather than to hope for a happy deliverance. The Jesuits have experienced this everywhere, and especially in regard to the beneficial results which they wished to obtain by the conversion of new France. We have said before that the rendezvous had been appointed for them at Dieppe the 24th of October, for at that time the ship would be like the bird upon the branch, only waiting to fly. But very far from this; they found at Dieppe that the ship had not even been repaired. Furthermore, at their arrival there was great excitement among those of the Reformed Religion. For sieur Robin, who (as we have said) took entire charge of the shipping, had given a commission to two merchants of the Pretended¹ Faith, called du Chesne and du Jardin, to attend to the repairing and loading of the ship, under promise to remunerate them for their time and expense, and to form a partnership with them to divide the profits which would be derived from the trade in skins, and from the cod fisheries. Now the Merchants had, up to that time, advanced but little in the work, I know not why: and from then on they began to delay more than ever. For they were very obstinate, swearing with their loudest oaths, that, if the Jesuits had to enter the ship, they would simply put nothing in it: that they would not refuse all other Priests or Ecclesiastics, and would even support them, but as to the Jesuits, they would not abide them.

The Court was informed of this, and the Queen ordered sieur de Cigoigne, Governor of Dieppe, to signify to the superintendents of the Consistory,² that she desired what her deceased Lord and husband had planned in his lifetime, namely, that the Jesuits should go to the countries of new France; and therefore, if they opposed this voyage, they were opposing her purpose and good pleasure. But this was a poor spur to

¹ The French phrase is “la religion prétendue réformée.”

² The council of the ministers and elders of the Protestant churches.

action. Our Merchants would not advance one step, and for lack of money sieurs Biencourt and Robin were obliged to pass under their rod; and for this reason they promised and swore to them, that the Jesuits should never enter their ship. Under this promise, the Merchants set to work to equip it, especially as the Jesuits were no longer under their eyes, having retired to their College at Eu.

Now madame la Marquise de Guercheville, having heard about this open contempt for the wishes of the Queen, as she is a generous-hearted woman, was indignant at seeing some insignificant peddlers so overbearing: and so she decided justly that they ought to be punished in a way that would hurt them most; namely, that they should be set aside. Now having learned that all the Merchants could have furnished, would not amount to more than four thousand livres, she did not disdain (to the end that many might participate in the good work) to ask a contribution from all the greatest Princes and Grandees of the Court; in this way, the sum of four thousand livres was soon collected.

Now this lady, being very discreet, considered that this sum, in paying the Merchants who had furnished the cargo, and in dismissing them from all association, would also accomplish two great benefits for new France. The first was, that this would always be a good fund with which to maintain the Jesuits there, so that they would not be a burden to sieur de Potrincourt, or any one else, nor would it be necessary to repeat every year the taking up of collections for them. The second was, that by this arrangement the profit from peltries and fish, which this ship would bring back, would not return to France to be lost in the hands of the Merchants, but would redound to the interests of Canada, and there would remain in the possession and power of sieurs Robin and Potrincourt, and would be used for the maintenance of Port Royal and the French residing there. For this reason, it was concluded that

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this money, having been applied and used for the benefit of Canada, the Jesuits should participate in the business with sieurs Robin and Biencourt, and should share with them the profits which would be derived therefrom; the management and sales of said merchandise to remain with said Robin and Biencourt or their Agents. This was the contract of partnership,¹ over which they have cried until they are hoarse, whether or not with reason, may be seen. God grant, that they never have greater cause to rail at us.

Chapter XIV (i.e., XIII).

The Voyage, and Arrival at Port Royal.

Never was the coming of the high tide more opportune to a stranded ship to free it from the shallow waters, and place it again upon the high sea with its prow turned toward home, than was the meeting of the Jesuit partners with sieur Robin, to arrange for the equipment of his vessel for Canada, and to deliver it from the bars among which it was entangled. For he was the son of a gentleman and you may judge that he did not have millions at command; his father also did not want to hear about the voyages beyond the sea, having quite recently undertaken the great salt enterprise, which required so great a capital and investment, as every one knows. I say this because the factionist writer,² misjudging the blessings of God, lays it at the door of the Jesuits that sieur de Biencourt did not depart sooner from Dieppe to new France; it was, however, just the contrary since it was for their sake that money was found to unfurl the sails to the wind, which could not have been done without it. So they left their moorings the twenty-sixth of January, 1611, with all the more joy since the disputes and

¹ This contract between the Jesuits and Biencourt is printed in Lescarbot's "Nouvelle France," pp. 665-667.

² Lescarbot?

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delays had caused so much vexation. Yet they departed too soon for such a late arrival, for four months were consumed in the voyage; and first they went to land at Campseau, on account of which they were compelled thereafter to keep near the shore, with stops at several places. Along this coast to Port Royal, it is about one hundred and twenty leagues.

On our way, towards the last of April, we had seen *sieur Champlain*, who was making his way through the icebergs to *Kebec*. These masses of ice were enormous, for the sea was in some places covered with them as far as the eye could reach. And, to cross them, they had to be broken with bars and pointed irons inserted in the *escobilles* or beak of the ship; it was fresh-water ice, and had drifted down more than a hundred leagues to the deep and open sea through the great *St. Lawrence* river. In some places there appeared vast and lofty pieces of floating and wavering ice, thirty and forty fathoms out of the water, as big and broad as if several castles were joined together, or, as you might say, as if the Church of *notre Dame de Paris*, with part of its Island, houses, and palaces should go floating out upon the water. The *Hollanders* have seen still more enormous and wonderful ones at *Spit(z)bergen*, and in the strait of *Ubaigats*,¹ if what they have published about them is true. We arrived at port Royal the 22nd of June of the same year, 1611, the Holy day of Pentecost.²

But before going ashore, let us say a word about the way in which the *Jesuits* lived during the voyage. For although these are things of little consequence, they are, nevertheless, necessary to close the mouth of falsehood. The truth then is this: First, that they had no servant during the entire voyage, except their own hands and feet: if their linen was to be washed, their clothes cleaned and patched, if other needs had to be provided

¹ Kara Strait, between *Nova Zembla* and *Siberia*, joining the Kara and Archangel Seas.

² May 22 is the right date.

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for, they had the privilege of doing it themselves, as well as the least. Secondly, they did not meddle with any one's authority, or make any pretense of having control or rights over the ship: sieur de Biencourt was in everything sole and absolute master: and this kind of submissiveness they always continued afterward at port Royal. Their usual exercises were singing divine service Sundays and holidays, with a little exhortation or sermon: every morning and evening, they assembled the whole crew for prayer, and during Lent for exhortation, only three times a week. Their conversation was such, that captain Jean d'Aune and the pilot, David de Bruges, both of the Pretended Religion, have often expressed their approval of it to sieur de Potrincourt; and frequently since then, in Dieppe and other places, have affirmed that they then found the Jesuits quite different from what they had previously been pictured to them, namely, honest and courteous men, of good conduct and pure consciences.

Chapter XV (i.e., XIV).

Sieur de Potrincourt's Condition at the Time of Their Arrival, and his Journey to the Etechemins.

Our arrival caused great joy on both sides—great on the part of those arriving, because of their longings, and the tediousness of so long a voyage; but more than double was that of sieur de Potrincourt, who had been in great distress and apprehension during the entire Winter. For having had with him twenty-three people, without sufficient food to nourish them, he had been obliged to send some off among the Savages, to live with them: the others had had no bread for six or seven weeks, and without the assistance of these same Savages, I do not know but that they would all have perished miserably. Now the succor that we brought them, was little else, as the saying is, than a glass of water to a very thirsty man. First, because there were thirty-six of us in our company, and these,

added to the 23 men that he had, made fifty-nine mouths every day at his table; and Membertou the Savage besides, with his daughter and crew. After living four months upon the sea, our provisions were very much diminished, especially as our vessel was quite small, being only fifty or sixty tons burden, and provisioned more for fishing than anything else. For this reason, then, it was left to Monsieur de Potrin court to think how he could promptly send back such a large family, lest everything should be consumed, rather than to secure traffic and fish, in which, however, lay all hope of resources for a second voyage. But he could not entirely refrain from doing some trading; for he had to make money, both to pay the wages of his servants, and for journeys here and there when in France.

For these purposes then, he departed some days afterward in his ship, with nearly all his crew, to go to one of the Etechemins' ports, called Pierre Blanche, 22 leagues from Port Royal, directly to the West. He hoped to find there some help in food supplies from the French ships which he knew were in the habit of trading in that place. Father Biard wished to accompany him, to study the country and character of the Natives, and his wish was granted. They found there four French ships, one belonging to sieur de Monts, one from La Rochelle, one Maloüin or St. Malo ship, belonging to Pont Gravé, commanded by a relation of his named Captain la Salle, of whom we shall speak by and by, and also a Maloüine barque; these four vessels must be well remembered, in order to understand what follows.

Sieur de Potrin court, calling up each one of these four vessels in succession, made them recognize his son as vice-Admiral: then he asked them for help, dwelling upon the dire necessity to which he had been reduced during the past Winter, and promising to reimburse them in France. Each one contributed. But God pardon the Rochelois, for they defrauded the Excise, giving spoiled bread for good.

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While this business was going on, Father Biard learned that young du Pont was on shore, among the savages; that the year before he had been made a prisoner by sieur de Potrin-court, and, having made his escape from him, he had been forced to roam the woods in great distress, and even then did not dare go to his ship, lest he should be caught. Father Biard, hearing all these things, begged sieur de Potrin-court to have some consideration for the great merits of sieur de Pont, the father, and to think of the high hopes he had entertained for his son: adding that it would indeed be a great misfortune, if the French, in running to the ends of the earth to convert the Savages, should happen to lose their own citizens there. Sieur de Potrin-court yielded to his remonstrances, and permitted Father Biard to go in search of this young man, with the promise that, if he could induce him to come freely and acknowledge the authority of the said sieur de Potrin-court, no harm would be done to him, and all the past would be put under foot and buried. The Father departed, and was successful in his efforts, for he brought du Pont to sieur de Potrin-court, and after peace and reconciliation were effected, they fired off the cannon. Du Pont, as an act of thanksgiving, and for the edification of the French and Savages, wished to confess on the following day, and to receive his Easter Sacrament, for he had not done so that year.

Accordingly, he performed these duties, to the great edification of all, on the shore of the sea, where the service was sung. His devotions finished, he begged sieur de Potrin-court to allow Father Biard to come and dine with him upon his ship, and his request was granted. But the poor host did not know what dessert was awaiting him, for somehow his ship had been seized and taken away; and, to make the story short, it was given back to him at the earnest solicitation of Father Biard, whose heart was very heavy over this mishap. At this time sieur de Potrin-court showed how very just he was, by

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trying to oblige the said Father, who will always be grateful to him for it.

Chapter XVI (i.e., XV).

Sieur de Potrin-court's Return to France, and the Difficulty of Learning the Language of the Savages.

We have heretofore explained the necessity which was urging sieur de Potrin-court to send his people back to France without delay. Now he wished to take them there himself, to more efficiently arrange all the affairs and especially to procure an immediate supply of provisions: for unless he did this, those whom he was leaving at Port Royal would be without means of passing the Winter, in evident danger of being carried off by famine. For this reason then, he departed about the middle of July of the same year, 1611, and arrived in France at the end of the following month of August; he left his son, sieur de Biencourt, in his place, with twenty-two persons, counting the two Jesuits, who, seeing that for the conversion of the Pagans the language of the country was absolutely necessary, resolved to apply themselves to it with all diligence. But it would be hard to understand the great difficulties which they here encountered: the principal one being, that they had neither interpreter nor teacher. To be sure sieur de Biencourt, and some of the others, knew a little of it very well, enough for trade and ordinary affairs; but when there was a question of speaking about God and religious matters, there was the difficulty, there, the "not understand." Therefore, they were obliged to learn the language by themselves, inquiring of the savages how they called each thing. And the task was not so very wearisome as long as what was asked about could be touched or seen: a stone, a river, a house; to strike, to jump, to laugh, to sit down. But when it came to internal and spiritual acts, which cannot be demonstrated to the senses, and in regard to words which are called abstract and universal, such

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as, to believe, to doubt, to hope, to discourse, to apprehend, an animal, a body, a substance, a spirit, virtue, vice, sin, reason, justice, etc.,—for these things they had to labor and sweat; in these were the pains of travail. They did not know by what route to reach them, although they tried more than a hundred; there were no gestures which would sufficiently express their ideas, not if they would use ten thousand of them. Meanwhile our gentlemen Savages, to pass away the time, made abundant sport of their pupils, always telling them a lot of nonsense. And yet if you wanted to take advantage of this fun, if you had your paper and pencil ready to write, you had to set before them a full plate with a napkin underneath. For to such tripods do good oracles yield; without this incentive, both Apollo and Mercury would fail them; as it was, they even became angry and went away, if we wished to detain them a little. What would you have done under the circumstances? For in truth, this work cannot be understood except by those who have tried it. Besides, as these Savages have no formulated Religion, government, towns, nor trades, so the words and proper phrases for all those things are lacking; Holy, Blessed, Angel, Grace, Mystery, Sacrament, Temptation, Faith, Law, Prudence, Subjection, Authority, etc. Where will you get all these things that they lack? Or, how will you do without them? O God, with what ease we make our plans in France! And the beauty of it is, that, after having racked our brains by dint of questions and researches, and after thinking that we have at last found the philosopher's stone, we find only that a ghost has been taken for a body, a shadow for a substance, and that all this precious Elixir has gone up in smoke. They often ridiculed, instead of teaching us, and sometimes palmed off on us indecent words, which we went about innocently preaching for beautiful sentences from the Gospels. God knows who were the instigators of such sacrileges.

An expedient presented itself to the Jesuits, by which they

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could extricate themselves happily from these perplexities and obstacles. It was to go and find young du Pont, who, we had heard, had made up his mind to pass the winter on the St. John river, some eighteen or twenty leagues from Port Royal. For since this du Pont had already lived a long time in the country, even leading the life of a Sylvan among the Natives, it was said of him that he understood the language very well, and there was no doubt that he could at least properly explain the questions so as to get from the savages suitable answers; these were necessary in order to write down a little Catechism, and some Christian instruction. Father Biard then decided to go and look for du Pont, deciding to cross French Bay in a canoe, rather than not to avail himself of this opportunity of doing good. But sieur de Biencourt was very much opposed to this decision, taking great offense at it; and we had to yield to him, to have peace.

Chapter XVII (i.e., XVI).

A Voyage Made to the Ste. Croix River, and the Death of the Sagamore, Membertou.

Toward the end of the month of August of the same year, 1611, sieur de Biencourt having heard that the ship of Captain Plastrier, from the town of Honfleur, was engaged in fishing at the Port aux Coquilles,¹ twenty-one leagues Westward from Port Royal, decided to go and find him, to recommend to him one of his men, whom he wished to send back to France with letters, to urge the expected help, and to represent their pitiable condition. Father Biard accompanied him, and they encountered this ship so opportunely, that if they had been eight minutes later, their chance would have been lost; for already it was unfurling its sails to return to France. When we had boarded it, we learned that Captain Platrier had decided to pass the Winter on the Island of sainte Croix, and that he (Sieur de Biencourt)

¹ Probably Head Harbor, near the N. E. point of Campobello Island.

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would get his fifth therefrom. This news made sieur de Biencourt resolve to go to Sainte Croix at once, before Captain Platrier had means of fortifying himself: for he wished to collect from him the Fifth of all his merchandise and trade, for wintering in the country. The Island of Sainte Croix is six leagues from Port aux Coquilles, in the middle of a river.

Accordingly sieur de Biencourt went to this place, accompanied by eight people, and, well-armed, marched into the place, having left Father Biard in one end of the Island upon the rocks, awaiting the outcome; because the Father had arranged with the sieur, that in case of any invasion, or war-like act or force against the French, he should be left in some place apart, so that every one might know that he was a friend of both parties, and that he would very willingly interpose to make peace between those at variance, but under no circumstances would he take sides with either.

Thank God, all passed off happily: Platrier treated us as well as he could: and with his aid, sieur de Biencourt recovered a barque, which was at Port aux Coquilles, with which he returned to Port Royal, where a new duty awaited them: for Henry Membertou, the Sagamore of the Savages who was the first to receive Holy Baptism, had come from the Baye sainte Marie to have himself treated for a disease which had overtaken him. Father Enemond Massé had put him in his little Cabin, even in Father Biard's bed, and was there taking care of him like a father and servant. Father Biard, finding the patient in his bed, was very glad of this opportunity for charity, which God had sent him; and both set to work to attend him day and night, without any one else to relieve them in the work, except the Apothecary Hebert,¹ who brought medicines and food which were to be given him. One of their greatest hard-

¹ Louis Hebert, a native of Paris. In 1617 he went to Canada at Champlain's request, and was the first settler at Quebec with a family. The marriage of his daughter, Anne, at Quebec in 1617, was the first marriage in Canada by church rites.

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ships was to cut and carry all the wood that was needed day and night; for the nights began to be quite chilly, and there always had to be a good fire on account of the bad odor, for the disease was dysentery. At the end of five or six days of such service, the wife and daughter of Membertou came to stay with him, and so Father Biard begged sieur de Biencourt to have the invalid moved to some of the other cabins of the settlement, since there were two or three of them empty; for it was neither good nor quite seemly that there should be women in their cabin day and night; and still less that they should not be there, being the wife and daughter of the sick man. On the other hand, the cabin was so small, that when four persons were in it, they could not turn around.

These considerations were only too evident, but the sieur was not inclined to have the patient removed to any of the cabins of the settlement; but he had one put up outside, where the invalid was taken. This change did not do him any good, for he became evidently worse from that time on, and died four or five days later. Nevertheless, the Jesuits never failed to aid and attend him, furnishing everything they could, and waiting on him up to the time of his death. This good Savage, having confessed and received extreme unction, told sieur de Biencourt that he wished to be buried with his fathers and ancestors. Father Biard was very much opposed to this proposition, admonishing him that it was not lawful for him, a Christian, to wish to be buried with Heathens whose souls were to be lost; especially as in doing so he would cause great scandal, inasmuch as, when the Savages heard and saw that he had not wanted to be buried with us, they would readily entertain the suspicion that he had been a Christian only in appearance. In any case, that all this would always seem like contempt for Christian burial, etc. Sieur de Biencourt replied for Membertou that they would have the burial place blessed, and that such a promise had been made to Membertou. Father Biard

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answered that that would not do; for, in order to bless the said place, they would have to disinter the Pagans who were buried there, which would cause them to be abominated by all the Savages, and would savor too much of impiety. These reasons did not avail, because the sick man, believing that sieur de Biencourt was on his side, persisted in his determination. In order to make them understand that this affair was of greater importance than they thought, Father Biard informed them that the interment would take place without him, and he wanted them to understand it from that time on, protesting that he would have nothing to do with any such counsels and decisions, and thereupon he departed. However, so the sick man would not think that what was mere duty and charity was anger, he returned less than an hour afterwards, and began again to wait upon him as before. God looked kindly upon his good intention, for the next morning the Savage, of his own free will, changed his mind, and said that he wanted to be buried in the common burying ground of the Christians, to prove his faith to all, and to be able to participate in the prayers which he had there seen offered. He died a very good Christian, and his death greatly saddened the Jesuits, for they loved him, and were loved by him in return. He often said to them: "Learn our language quickly, for when you have learned it, you will teach me; and when I am taught I will become a preacher like you, and we will convert the whole country." The Savages have no recollection of ever having had a greater or more powerful Sagamore. He was bearded like a Frenchman; and would to God that all the French were as circumspect and prudent as he was. Such is the true story of the sickness and death of Membertou. With it I shall no longer waste time in refuting the calumnies of the Factionist, he being sufficiently convicted both here and elsewhere. Therefore I tell the truth of the thing, without losing time in fighting larvæ.

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Chapter XVIII (i.e., XVII).

The Voyage to the St. John River: and the Quarrel Which Occurred There.

I said above that sieur de Biencourt took a barque away from Port aux Coquilles, that he might make a journey therewith to the Armouchiquois.¹ This is the name of the people who live below the forty-third parallel, toward the Southwest. They begin at Chouacoët, and are said to be very numerous. Lack of provisions urged sieur de Biencourt to make this voyage, because, as these people till the soil and put away stores of grain, he hoped, by means of trade or in some other way, to get help from them to provide against the famine which awaited us in the course of the Winter. His barque was equipped too late for such a long journey, for we were not ready until the third of October, and he still wanted to go to the Saint John river before making this voyage.

The river Saint John is to the Northwest of Port Royal, the intermediate space being occupied by French Bay, 14 leagues wide. The entrance to this river is very narrow and very dangerous: for the ship has to pass between two rocks where the current of the tide is tossed from one to the other, flashing between them as swift as an arrow. Beyond these rocks lies a frightful and horrible precipice, and if you do not pass over it at the proper moment, and when the water is smoothly heaped up, of a hundred thousand barques not an atom would escape, but men and goods would all perish.

Young du Pont and Captain Merveille had gone to stay some six leagues up this river St. John, with a company of not more than seven or eight, all Maloüins. Sieur de Biencourt wished to extract from them the Fifth of all their merchandise, because they were residents of the country, as has been said: it

¹ The French name for the Algonkin Indian tribes of New England, who were not friendly with the tribes inhabiting Acadia.

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was for this purpose he undertook this voyage. We were in all sixteen Frenchmen, and two Savages, who conducted us.

Now as we were sailing up the river, being already about a league and a half from the Maloüin settlement, towards night-fall a phenomenon appeared to us, which filled us with terror. For the heavens became wonderfully red over the Maloüin habitation, and then the glow, separating into long rays and flashes of light, moved on and melted away over this settlement. This appeared twice. Our Savages, when they saw this wonder, cried out in their language, "*Gara gara, Maredo.*" ("We shall have war, there will be blood.") The French also made some Prophecies thereupon, each according to his own idea. We arrived opposite their settlement when the night had already closed in, and there was nothing we could do then, except to fire a salute from the falconet, which they answered with one from the swivel gun.

When morning came, and the usual prayers were said, two Maloüins presented themselves upon the bank, and signified to us that we could disembark without being molested, which we did. It was learned from them that their Captains were not there, but had gone away up the river three days before, and no one knew when they would return. Meanwhile Father Biard went away to prepare his Altar, and celebrated holy Mass.

After Mass sieur de Biencourt placed a bodyguard at the door of the habitation, and sentinels all around it. The Maloüins were very much astonished at this way of doing things. The more timid considered themselves lost, the more courageous stormed, and fumed, and defied them.

When night came on and it was already quite dark, Captain Merveille returned to his lodgings, knowing nothing of his guests. The sentinel, hearing him approach, uttered his, "*Who goes there?*" The Maloüin, thinking this was one of his own people, answered mockingly, "But who goes there thyself?" and continued upon his way. The sentinel fired off his musket

at him in earnest, and it was a great wonder (*Fr. merveille*) that Merveille was not killed or wounded. But he was very much astonished, and still more so when he saw some soldiers upon him with naked swords, who seized him and took him into the house; you may imagine how men of powder and of rope act at such times, with their cries, their threats, and their gesticulations. The poor man had not been well for several days, and just then was very much wearied from his journey. He had had several discouraging losses and sicknesses that year, enough to break him down. So, seeing himself thus, as it were, suddenly fallen into an abyss, he knew not where he was. He lay down at full length before the fire, and began to lament: the guards were all around him. Father Biard, seeing the confusion of the whole house, and not being able to restore order, began to pray to God, kneeling at the foot of a bench which was against one of the beds, some distance from the fire. Merveille, having had some chance to realize his unfortunate condition and to collect himself, and, having perceived Father Biard praying, started up in great agitation, and ran, and threw himself on his knees before the said Father; and, although he had never spoken to him, said: "My Father, I pray you to confess me, I am a dead man." Father Biard got up to console him, seeing clearly that he was troubled; the whole body-guard likewise turned their eyes upon them, and each one looked about him to see if there was anything to fear. By chance or design, whichever it was, I know not, a certain madcap stepped forward and picked up, at two paces from Merveille, a carbine, all loaded and primed, with the trigger down and cried: "Oh, the traitor! He wanted to get hold of this carbine and have a few shots from it." The Maloüin answered that that could not be, because since his arrival he had always been in their hands; and so it was impossible for him to have prepared or even seen this carbine; and if he had seen it, he was too far away to get hold of it without being prevented. But in spite of all he said,

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he, and three others of his men, who seemed to be the worst, were bound.

Merveille had his hands bound behind his back so tightly, that he could not rest, and he began to complain very pitifully. Father Biard taking pity on him, begged *sieur de Biencourt* to have the sufferer untied, whom he pledged man for man, alleging that, if they had any fears about the said Merveille, they might enclose him in one of the Carthusian beds,¹ and that he would stay at the door to prevent his going out: that if any noise were heard the punishment thereof should fall upon him as well as upon the other. *Sieur de Biencourt* granted Father Biard's request, and Merveille was untied and confined in one of these beds, Father Biard being at the door.

Now I could not describe to you what a night this was: for it passed in continual alarms, gunshots and rash acts on the part of some of the men; so that it was feared with good reason that the prognostications seen in the heavens the night before would have their bloody fulfillment upon earth. Father Biard promised to keep this favor in mind as long as he lived, if it pleased God to restrain these mutinous and murderous spirits which seemed to be in ecstasy and to fly over the house waiting for their prey. God in his goodness hearkened to him, and to the sincere prayers of Captain Merveille, for he certainly showed a truly Christian spirit, as soon as he was partially released, never ceasing, nearly all night, to praise and bless his Creator, notwithstanding all the insults that had been heaped upon him. And when morning came he confessed, and, together with three of his men, received the sacrament, in great tranquility of mind. In truth it was a very rare and very excellent example to those who know how to esteem virtue.

In the afternoon Father Biard asked leave to go and find *du Pont*, with *sieur de Biencourt's* promise that he would

¹ Probably a bed built into the wall, Breton fashion, and closed with a sliding shutter.

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receive nothing but good treatment. But when the said Father had gone a quarter of a league, the said du Pont came up of his own accord, and all disturbances were quieted. Sieur de Biencourt borrowed Merveille's barque, and took it away with him, together with one of the Maloüins, who afterwards died at Port Royal.

Chapter XIX (i.e., XVIII).

The Voyage to Quinibequi, and the Return to Port Royal.

We remarked a little while ago that this visit to St. John river was only a diversion from the greater expedition to the Armouchiquois to get some corn. Now when we had thus come to terms with the Malouins, we unfurled our sails to the wind and turned towards the land of the Armouchiquois. Before departing, sieur du Pont and Merveille begged Father Biard to consent to remain with them; but he answered that for the present he could not do it, as it would not be right to leave sieur de Biencourt in such a dangerous voyage; and that it was important to him in his mission to study the people and location of the places, and, little by little, to familiarize the minds of the Savages with the sight, uses, and ways of Christianity, visiting them and giving them some taste of piety, although it might be only in passing by. But that he hoped, with God's blessing, when this journey was over, to come and pass the Winter with them, and with their aid to compose his Catechism. For this he begged sieur du Pont to prepare himself, questioning the Savages about the fitness of words which might correspond to those of our language and Religion. And in order that he might be able to do it properly, he left him quite an ample explanation of the principal articles of our holy Faith.

We arrived at Kinibequi¹ towards the end of October. Kin-

¹ Kennebec River. The Indian word Kanibesek is said to mean, "the river that leads to the lake." The river was also called by the natives "Sagadahoc."

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ibequi is a river near the Armouchiquois, in latitude forty-three and two-thirds degrees, and Southwest of Port Royal about seventy leagues or thereabouts. It has two quite large mouths, one distant from the other at least two leagues; it is also cut up by numerous arms and branches. Besides, it is a great and beautiful river: but we did not see good soil there any more than at the St. John river. They say, however, that farther up, away from the sea, the country is very fine and life there agreeable, and that the people till the soil. We did not go farther up than three leagues; we whirled about through so many eddies, and shot over so many precipices, that several times it was a great miracle of God that we did not perish. Some of our crew cried out at two different times that we were lost: but they cried too soon, blessed be Our Lord. The Savages cajoled us with the hope of getting corn; then they changed their promise of corn to that of trade in beaver skins.

Now, while this trading was going on, Father Biard had gone, with a boy to an Island near by, to celebrate holy Mass. The Savages, on account of the trading to take place, crowded very eagerly into our barque; from curiosity (I think) because they did not often see such sights. Our people were afraid that this was only a trick, and that under the pretense of trading they wanted to get possession of the barque; therefore they armed and barricaded themselves not to be taken unawares. Seeing then that, notwithstanding their threats and cries, they continued to file in, and there were already about thirty of them upon the deck, they decided that it was all in good earnest and that they were trying to take them by surprise, so they had already taken aim to shoot. Monsieur de Biencourt has often said, and often repeated since then, that several times he had at his tongue's end the words, "Kill, kill." But that he was restrained by the consideration that Father Biard was on shore, and that he would not escape being massacred if harm were done to any of the Savages. This consideration was a blessing

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to Father Biard, and saved us all: for if the attack had been begun it is not to be supposed that they could ever have escaped the passionate wrath and furious pursuit of the Savages, in a river which has so many turns and windings, and which is often very narrow and dangerous; besides, this coast could not have become hospitable or reconciled towards the French for a hundred years afterwards, so much would the Savages have taken the offense to heart. So on this account God saved us; hence, all Captains should restrain themselves from rash and perilous conduct. Now the Sagamores, themselves perceiving to what a state of just apprehension their people had driven the French, began to draw them off hastily and to bring order out of the confusion.

These people do not seem to be bad, although they drove away the English who wished to settle among them in 1608 and 1609.¹ They made excuses to us for this act, and recounted the outrages that they had experienced from these English; and they flattered us, saying that they loved us very much, because they knew we would not close our doors to the Savages as the English did, and that we would not drive them from our table with blows from a club, nor set our dogs upon them. They are not thieves like the Armouchiquoys, and are the greatest speechmakers on earth. Nothing is done without speeches. Father Biard went to see them twice, and (as he did everywhere) prayed God in their presence, and showed them some pictures and tokens of our faith, which they willingly kissed, having their children make the sign of the holy Cross, and presenting them to him for his blessing: they listened with great attention and respect to what was told them. The trouble was, that they have an altogether different language, and a Savage had to serve as interpreter, who, knowing very little of the Christian Religion, nevertheless acquitted himself with credit in the eyes of the other Savages; and to look at his face

¹ The Popham settlement, 1607-8, is referred to.

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and hear his talk, he played the Doctor very grandly; whether successfully or not, I cannot tell.

We were at Kinibequi until fourth or fifth of November a season already too advanced to go on any farther, according to our first intention; hence sieur de Biencourt set out upon his return, thinking it the lesser evil to endure Winter and want at Port Royal, comfortably lodged and warm, awaiting God's mercy, than to risk passage upon the sea in this stormy season, being now among Barbarians and enemies, with famine to fear besides; for our provisions began to be very scarce: therefore we turned toward Pentegoet,¹ on our way back to Port Royal.

At Pentegoet we found an assemblage of eighty canoes of Savages, and a boat, in all about three hundred souls. Thence we passed on to the Island of Ste. Croix, where Platrier gave us two barrels of peas or beans; they both proved a very great boon to us.

Here Father Biard begged sieur de Biencourt to let him go on to the river St. John so that he could find du Pont and go to work on the Catechism, as they had agreed at his departure. But the said sieur was not willing to grant his request, unless on the condition that he would feed and keep with him, until the following Spring, the sailors who would take him there; a Condition totally impossible. Therefore he had to give up his Catechism, and return with the others to Port Royal, much to his regret.

While we were away, no one had remained at the settlement of Port Royal except Father Enemond Massé and a young Parisian, called Valentin Pageau. The Father lived very austere, in the manner of a Hermit, seeing no one, except occasionally two or three Frenchmen who were cultivating the land two leagues away, and perchance some Savage who was passing by. Shortly after his return, Father Biard fell ill of a light but

¹ Called Castine, after Baron de Castine settled there in 1667.

slow and chronic malady, which gave to Father Enemond an occasion for charity.

A boy had been given to them to help them in their needs, whom they had treated very kindly; but he left them in the depths of the snow and in the heart of Winter.

The snow began on the 26th of November, and with it (what grieved them the most) the cutting down of their rations. There was given to each individual for the entire week only about ten ounces of bread, half a pound of lard, three bowls of peas or beans, and one of prunes. The Jesuits never had more nor different things than the other members of the company, and it is a very imprudent lie which the Factionist alleges to the contrary.

During all this time the Savages did not come to see us, except rarely some of Membertou's family, to bring us some offering from the chase. Then there was great feasting and hilarity, and our people would begin to feel a little encouraged. The most grievous thing was their dread of the season, when they considered the long duration of disagreeable months to be endured.

The Jesuits tried, both privately and in public, to comfort all and every one during this season of misery. And it happened that on the third Sunday after Christmas, when the Gospel *Vinum non habent* is read, Father Biard exhorted the Company to be of good cheer, and to take the glorious virgin Mary for an advocate with her compassionate Son in every need, spiritual and corporal, as through her intercession the wine of consolation would never be wanting to those who have her as a guest and a mother. The service ended, Father Biard addressed himself to sieur de Biencourt, and, pointing to his companions, said laughingly, *Vinum non habent*: begging him to give them the little that remained, adding that his heart told him they would have succor,—at the farthest, during the present month, namely, in January; and perhaps it would be

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seen that he had unwittingly prophesied. His Companions were delighted, and, in their joy after drinking, said, "Now, truly, we have the courage to wait and see if the Father is a Prophet." And certainly he made a lucky hit, for a ship reached us just one week afterward, which we had to go a long way out to seek.

[*Extracts from a letter written by Father Pierre Biard to the Right Rev. Provincial at Paris, containing some gossip of the voyage that was omitted from the good Father's later and more formal history.*]

Port Royal, January 31st, 1612.

1 . . . "I have made two voyages with M. de Biencourt, one lasting nearly twelve days, the other a month and a half, and we have examined the whole coast from Port Royal as far as Kinibéqui, west-south-west. We have sailed up the large rivers of St. Jean, the Holy Cross (Sainte Croix), Pentegoet (Penobscot) and the above-mentioned Kinibéqui. We have visited the French who have wintered here this year in two divisions, on the River St. Jean and that of Sainte Croix; the Malouins in the river St. Jean and Captain Plastrier at St. Croix. . . . Two main causes induced M. de Biencourt to do this; the first to obtain news about the English and to know if it would be possible to get the better of them; the second to exchange with the Armouchiquois for corn so as to preserve us during the winter, and keep us from dying of hunger, in case we should receive no aid from France. In order to understand the first motive it ought to be known that, shortly before, Captain Plastrier of Honfleur, before mentioned, wishing to go to Kinibéqui, was taken prisoner by two English vessels that were near an island called Emmetenic, 8 leagues from aforesaid Kinibéqui. He was released by means of some presents (this was the way they mildly called it), and the promise he gave to comply with the prohibitions imposed upon him, not to trade along that whole coast. For the English claim to be masters here, and in support of this they exhibit Patents of their King, which we, however, believe to be false. Now M. de Biencourt, having heard all this from the lips of Captain Plastrier himself, represented very earnestly to these people how important it was to him, an officer of the Crown and a lieutenant of his father, how important also to every good Frenchman to go and prevent this usurpation of the English, which was so very contrary to the rights and possessions of his Majesty.

1 Alex. Brown "The Genesis of the U. S.," Vol. II, pp. 533-536.

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For, said he, it is well known to all men (not to speak of higher views of the matter) that the great Henry, whom God may serve in His mercy, bestowed upon M. des Monts in the year 1604, all this country from the 40th degree of latitude to the 48th. Since this grant the aforesaid Seigneur des Monts in his own person and through M. de Potrincourt my most honored Father his lieutenant, and three others have often taken real possession of the whole country and this three or four years before ever the English had set forth, or any one had ever heard anything of this claim of theirs. These and several other things the aforesaid Sieur de Biencourt found out and made known, thus encouraging his people.

I, for my part, had two other motives which urged me to this same voyage : one, to accompany as a spiritual assistant the aforesaid Sieur de Biencourt and his people ; the other, to find out and to see myself the disposition of these nations to accept the Holy Gospel. These, then, were the motives of our voyage.

We arrived at Kinibéqui, 80 leagues from Port Royal, on the 28th of October, the day of St. Simon and St. Jude, of the same year, 1611. Immediately our men went on shore, desirous to see the fort of the English ; (Fort St. George at Sagadahoc, erected by Captain George Popham in 1607. See the plan of the Fort, Brown I, opp. p. 190) for we had heard on the way that there was no one there. Now as at first everything looked fine, they went to work praising and boasting of this enterprise of the English and to enumerate the advantages of the place ; everybody praised in it what he valued most. But a few days later they changed their views ; for there was seen a fair chance of raising a counter fort, which would have imprisoned them and cut them off from the river and the sea ; item, that even if they had been left there, they would nevertheless not have enjoyed the commodities of the river, since it had several other and finer estuaries at some distance from there. . . .

But since I here have made mention of the English, some one may perchance wish to hear of their adventures which we were told here. It is, therefore, thus : that in the year 1608 the English began to settle down at one of the mouths of this river Kinibéqui, as has been said before. They had then as their head a very honest man, who got along remarkably well with the natives of the country. They say, however, that the Armouchiquois were afraid of such neighbors, and on that account murdered this Captain of whom I have spoken. These people are accustomed to this business, to kill people by magic. Now in the second year, 1609, the English under another Captain changed their policy. They repelled the natives most dishonorably, they beat them and committed excesses of every kind, without much restraint ; hence these poor, ill-treated people, impatient with the present, and fearing more from the future, resolved, as the saying is, to kill the

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whelp before he should have more powerful claws and teeth. The opportunity offered one day when three sloops had gone to a distant place in order to fish. The conspirators followed them upon their track and, drawing near with many signs of friendship (for thus they always are most friendly when they are nearest to treachery), they entered and, at a given signal, each chose his man and killed him with his big knife. Thus perished eleven Englishmen. The others, intimidated, abandoned their enterprise that same year and have not continued it since, being content to come in the summer to fish near this island of Emmetenic, which, as we mentioned before, is 8 leagues from the fort they had begun.

On this account, therefore, the outrage committed on the person of Captain Plastrier by said Englishmen having been perpetrated on this island of Emmetenic, M. de Biencourt considered the expediency of going to reconnoiter it and to leave there some token of having re-claimed it. This he did by erecting in the harbor a very fine cross, with the arms of France. Some of his people suggested to him to burn the sloops which he found there, but as he is gentle and humane he would not do it, considering that they were not men-of-war but fishing vessels.

From there since the season pressed us, for it was already November 6th, we made sail to return to Port Royal, stopping at Pentegoet, as we had promised the Savages —

From Port Royal, the last of January, 1612.

Pierre Biard."

Chapter XX (i.e., XIX).

How Madame la Marquise de Guercheville obtained from the King the Lands of New France, and the Help which She sent there.

Sieur du Potrin-court having returned to France in the month of August of the year 1611, as has been said above, searched on all sides for ways and means of being able to help his people, who he knew could not continue long without reinforcements and fresh food. The trouble was to find some good Aeolus, King of the South and North winds, who would be willing to give them, not as they were given to Ulysses, bound up in a leather bag so as not to blow, but free and propitious to swell the sails, for without this no ship could advance. Now considering that Madame la Marquise de Guercheville had the conversion of the Savages very much at heart; that she had

already procured some donations for the Jesuits, which they received very gratefully; and seeing that many rare virtues shone in her character, he thought that she might readily favor this good work. He spoke to her about it, and the Lady responded that she would willingly enter into the partnership which sieur Robin and the Jesuits had formed with him for assisting Canada, provided that this was the wish of the partners, and that she would aid them all with affectionate interest. You may judge whether the Jesuits ought to have refused this proposition, or whether sieur Robin, upon whom Canada already weighed rather heavily, was dissatisfied with it. Thus when the contract of association was entered into, the Lady being authorized to do this by sieur de Liencourt, chief Equerry of his Majesty, and Governor of Paris, her honored and worthy husband. By this contract it was arranged that the Lady should give at once a thousand ecus for the lading of a ship, and in consideration of this she would have a share both in the profits which said ship would bring back from the country, and in the lands which his Majesty had given to sieur de Potrin court, as is amply set forth in the minutes. In this contract, sieur de Potrin court reserves for himself Port Royal and its lands and says that it is not to be understood that he enters into partition or transference of other Seigneuries, Capes, Harbors, and Provinces, which he gives to understand he possesses in that country, outside of Port Royal. Now Madame la Marquise summoned sieur de Potrin court to produce the papers and documents, by which he could prove these his so great appurtenances and domains; he excused himself, saying that he had left them in new France. This answer made the Lady suspicious, and, as she is prudent, means were not lacking to guard against fraud; for she arranged with sieur Pierre du Gua, called de Monts, that he should give up to her all rights, claims and pretensions that he had, and ever had had, in new France, based upon the deed of gift made to him by the late Henry the Great. Also on the other hand

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she secured letters from his Majesty now reigning, by which a deed of gift was newly granted her of all the lands, ports, and harbors of new France from the great river of Florida, with the sole exception of Port Royal. And in this way he, who was thought to be so shrewd, found himself against his choice, locked up and confined as in a prison within his Port Royal; because, in truth, he has not and never has had, other lands, Capes or harbors, Islands or continent, except Port Royal and its coasts. Whereas now this Lady holds all the rest by a double title; namely, by donation or cession of sieur de Monts, and by a deed of gift newly granted by his Majesty now reigning.

Now she, fearing her money might be wrecked before it had embarked upon the sea, confided it to the hands of a Jesuit lay brother,¹ who was being sent to new France to help the Priests who were already there. The Jesuit was to deliver this money at Dieppe into the hands of a merchant, that he might use it in the purchase of food, merchandise, and freight; but he was too confiding. For at the requisition of sieur de Potrin-court, he allowed four hundred écus to be drawn without other security than a note of hand. Therefore he used only six hundred écus for this entire cargo; an investment very worthy of Canada.

This is not all. Sieur de Potrin-court confided the administration of the ship and the management of affairs, to a certain servant of his called Simon Imbert, a former innkeeper at Paris, and at that time seeking in the woods of new France something with which to pay his creditors. The ship belonged to a Captain, called Nicolas l'Abbé, of Dieppe, an honest and prudent man. So this vessel, thus equipped and freighted, departed from Dieppe the 31st of December in the very depth of winter, and arrived happily at Port Royal on the 23rd of January in the following year, 1612, having consumed only two months² in the journey.

¹ Gilbert du Thet.

² It is probable that the ship started on its voyage in November.

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Chapter XXI (i.e., XX).

The Beginning of the Disputes between *Sieur de Biencourt* and the Jesuits, and the Cause thereof; The Accusation made against *Gilbert du Thet*, and his Defense.

Great was the rejoicing over the relief afforded by the arrival of this ship, on account of the severe straits to which the colonists had been reduced, and the dread which they felt for the future. But this joy did not last long, *sieur de Biencourt* being ill at ease on account of the news brought by *Simon Imbert* about the partnership formed with the *Marquise de Guercheville*. Now the Jesuit, *Gilbert du Thet*, being in the ship, although he had not meddled with affairs, nevertheless had not been so blind of one eye (as the saying is) that he had not always kept watch with the other, as he had been charged and commanded to do. Now in order to acquit himself of his duty, and to uphold the right, he went to see *sieur de Biencourt*; and, in the presence of *Father Biard*, he said to him: That he was very much surprised that, as *Simon Imbert* had had the management of the entire embarkation, nevertheless he had not brought any list of the ship's company, nor charter party¹ nor invoice of what had been shipped, nor statement of where or how the money of *Madame la Marquise de Guercheville* had been spent. That he ought to have done this at least for the vindication of his own honesty and good faith, since he had brought a great deal of merchandise which he claimed belonged to him, and which it would be suspected he had appropriated to the detriment of the said Lady, and of themselves. That they did not wish to accuse him before having found him guilty; nevertheless, before admitting his innocence, there was a great deal to investigate in the whole matter, and especially in regard to his having sold at *Dieppe* wheat which had been given him

¹ Terms of rent for the ship, a name derived from the custom of cutting a contract in two, each party keeping a half.

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to be shipped — an act which would prove to be a great disadvantage to the settlement, which was in need of provisions more than of anything else. Also, that he counted seven barrels of Sea-biscuits dispensed during the voyage, and he did not say that of these seven, two were furnished by a certain Robert de Rouen as his share; so for this reason, seven barrels should not have been charged to the company, but only five. That the *sieur* was entreated to investigate the whole affair prudently, and to conduct himself always in the matter as we ought to do in all things, with charity and dignity. Such was the simple remonstrance that was made to him by the Jesuit; and *sieur* de Biencourt has often testified since then, that this matter could not have been called to his attention with greater delicacy that it was. But, instead of doing what he was requested, and what he was bound to do, he went and reported the whole affair to Simon Imbert, adding that the Jesuit lay brother had accused him.

Now what counsels were held thereupon, and what underhand dealings or claims I know not. However, as from little exhalations and vapors, which at first amount to nothing, arise dense clouds, furious winds, and horrible tempests, which suddenly sweep over and destroy fields and harvests; so from this slight cause, through the agitation of the evil spirit, the trouble increased to a mischievous whirlwind of discord, which has scattered and ravaged all the fruits and hopes of this first clearing. For Imbert represented to him that the partnership formed with Madame la Marquise de Guercheville was a means invented by the Jesuits to drive him out of his broad Seigneuries of Canada.

Now the Jesuits, not pleased at seeing themselves placed in such a pretty predicament, twice in the presence of *sieur* de Biencourt and of the whole settlement, convicted the said Imbert of duplicity, by the very same witnesses which he had put forward; and the second time they pressed him so hard

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that he was compelled to say he had been drunk when he had spoken thus. Of their truth and innocence in this, there are good and authentic records and proofs, made and rendered according to law at Dieppe, before the Magistrate, after return of the ship.

Chapter XXII (i.e., XXI).

A Journey Made by Father Enemond Massé, and Another by Father Biard.

A reconciliation was effected afterward, and everything calmed down. The Jesuits, devoting themselves to the study and apprenticeship of the Savage language, thought a good way to force themselves to this, and to better learn the usages, habits and life of the country, would be to go away and live with the natives, wandering and roving about as they did through mountains and valleys, and adopting their ways, civil as well as physical. They offered themselves to Louys Membertou, to live with him in that way, if he were pleased to receive them: he agreed to do so very willingly. Father Enemond Massé, as he was full of courage, desired that this enterprise should fall to him; also he was judged more suitable for it by the common voice of the settlement, on account of his industry and practical ingenuity, ready to find a remedy for every inconvenience. He went away then, with Louys Membertou and his family, beyond French Bay to St. John river, and began his novitiate in this Nomadic life, truly a very hard and trying ordeal.

This life is without order and without daily fare, without bread, without salt, and often without anything; always moving on and changing, in the wind, in the air, and in bad weather; for roof, a wretched cabin; for couch, the earth; for rest and quiet, odious cries and songs; for medicine, hunger, and hard work. It was, in truth, a very painful mode of living. Father Enemond, in order to everywhere preserve a religious propriety, had taken with him a young and vigorous French

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boy, who helped him, attended him wherever he went, and assisted him at the Mass. But both master and servant soon found themselves in a bad condition through such irregular diet: they became thin, and lost their strength, color and cheerfulness: their legs grew big and heavy, their minds were dulled, and a low fever set in; however this soon passed away, and then little by little they regained their usual appearance, and each was restored to his customary vigor. Father Enemond thought he was going to lose his sight, without any disease of the eyes; atrophy, it seems to me, caused this debility of the sense and of the mind.

During this time, Father Biard remained at Port Royal, having with him a Savage whom he fed and made use of as a master in the Savage tongue. He fed him, I say, from what he had been able to save from his own daily fare, and even waited on him; for the Savages, either from laziness, or from lofty courage, do not deign to do any work, such as going for water, for wood, to the kitchen, etc., for they say that belongs to the women. So he entertained his Savage, and was his apprentice in the language for three weeks, but he could keep it up no longer, for want of something to give him to eat; this grieved him exceedingly, for the Savage was good-natured, and willing to live with him.

Now while Father Enemond was sick among the Savages, an amusing incident occurred. As the Father was in a cabin, apart from the others on account of his illness, Louys Memberton, apparently in great trouble, came to see him, and said to him: "Listen, Father. Thou art going to die; I predict it. Write now to Biencourt and to thy brother, that thou hast died of disease, and that we did not kill thee." "I shall take care not to do that" (said Father Enemond), "for possibly after I had written this letter, thou wouldst kill me, and then thou wouldst take there thy innocent letter, saying thou hadst not killed me." Here the Savage, seeing what was meant (for he

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is not dull) and recovering his equanimity began to laugh. "Well then" (said he), "pray Jesus that thou mayest not die, so they will not accuse us of having killed thee." "Indeed, I am doing so," said Father Enemond; "do not fear, I shall not die."

Towards the end of August of this year, 1612, sieur de Biencourt wished to go to the Bay of Mines, 21 or 22 leagues from Port Royal: he was certainly ill-prepared to go there, in a wretched boat, having food for only eight days, and lacking all other provisions. Father Biard, however, offered to accompany him, because the sieur promised to inquire about and seek news of Father Enemond, of whom we had heard nothing for two months, and who, we greatly feared, had fallen into some trouble or sickness.

Now although so badly provisioned, nevertheless we went not only to the Bay of Mines, but also to Chinictou; Champlain calls this Bay, the Baye de Genes. At this Chinictou there are many large and beautiful meadows, extending farther than the eye can reach; many rivers discharge their waters into it, through some of which one can sail quite far up on the route to Gachepé.¹ The Savages of this place may number sixty or eighty souls, and they are not so nomadic as the others, either because the place is more retired, or because game is more abundant, there being no need of their going out to seek food. The country is, for the most part, agreeable, and, in my opinion, would be very fertile if it were cultivated. It is within the forty-sixth degree of north latitude.

Upon our return from this Bay, God manifestly preserved us twice in the midst of the tempest. And the third escape is that which I am going to describe. We had carried with us food for only eight days and it had already been fifteen since our departure. Bad weather kept us beyond the Bay of Mines, on the St. John river side; and, if the contrary or adverse

¹ Gaspé.

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winds had continued, it would have been all over with us, as we would have had to die of hunger, for we had nothing. When night came, Father Biard persuaded the company to make a vow to our Lord, and to his blessed Mother, that if it pleased them to send propitious winds, the four Savages who were with us would become Christians. The Savages were willing to do this, and the vow was made. In the morning the wind arose, such a one as we were in need of, and by its aid we crossed the Bay, which is eight leagues wide. Now when we reached shore on the Port Royal side, the wind failed us; also we had the tide against us, and we were fifteen leagues from Port Royal.

For this reason *sieur de Biencourt* left us, preferring to go on foot with the Savages: but he made a mistake, for immediately after his departure, good weather returned, by the aid of which, and owing to the good courage of our companions, we arrived the same day at Port Royal; whereas the *sieur* did not get there until three days later, after much suffering. Now the Savages were ready to receive Holy Baptism, but there was nothing for them to eat during the four or five days in which they would have to be Catechized. For we were in need of everything. It was put off until the coming of the ship, which was expected from day to day; but the expectation was vain, as you will hear. And thus the opportunity for this good deed was lost, to our great regret.

Now Father Biard, being again at home, although he was very happy at having so wonderfully escaped death, famine, and tempest; nevertheless was exceedingly cast down at not having heard any news of his dear Brother, Father Enemond, for whom he had a singular attachment. But God completely relieved his fears that very day. For, as if the rendezvous had been assigned them at this very place, he arrived the same day, safe and sound, and loaded with merit and good works: as much for having suffered so greatly, as for having placed in Paradise some souls, which had passed away immediately after

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Holy Baptism. In truth they both had reason to bless with full hearts their good God and Lord, who comforted them like a father, and so visibly protected them in all things and everywhere.

Chapter XXIII (i.e., XXII).

What happened during the Winter and Spring following, of the Year 1613.

Sieur de Biencourt fully expected to receive help from France before Winter, especially as it had been said that there were three or four ships on the way, and already we were looking about to see where we could store so many things as were coming in this fleet. Trusting in this, sieur de Biencourt had traded almost everything. He was therefore very much astonished when on All Saints' day, he found himself without hope of any relief that year.

Now the Jesuits, who had not built much (as the saying is) upon these visionary expectations, had reserved in their store-room five large puncheons of grain, four of pure wheat and one of barley, which had been sent from France for their own use. It made in all fourteen barrels of good grain. Now, when they saw sieur de Biencourt's necessity, they went to him and cheerfully offered him their means, saying that he should take all their grain with the sole exception of two barrels of wheat and one of barley, which they wished to reserve for various emergencies of want and sickness, both for themselves and the others. As to the remainder, they would not touch it, except to receive as usual their daily portion like the others. Sieur de Biencourt accepted the offer, and its conditions, and according to these we began to live.

Meanwhile the Jesuits, with God as their support, did not lose heart, but, according to the light and ingenuity given them, provided for the future. Thus they decided to construct a boat while the others were sitting around the fire doing nothing. For they foresaw that, without this, they would surely die of hunger

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after the two months in which their barley would last; and, having no boat, they could not go for acorns, shells, roots, or fish, nor to any place where there would be hope of finding something. For the roads in that country are the rivers and the sea.

When they began to carry out this plan of constructing a boat they were both laughed at; for the master of the work was their servant, who knew nothing more about it than an apprentice; his assistants were two Priests, who had never followed this trade. "Nevertheless," some one said, "Father Enemond can do anything; and in case of need he will be found to be a good Sawyer of planks, a good caulker, and a good Architect. But of what use will Father Biard be in such work?" "Dost thou not know," answered the other, "that when the boat is done he will give it his blessing?" Thus they chattered, and talked it over leisurely around the fire. But the Jesuits lost no time in sawing planks, planing boards, seeking bent wood, making oakum out of bits of rope which they found, and tramping over the woods in search of resin. What came of it? In the middle of March their jolly-boat was upon the water equipped, adorned and fitted up bravely, to the admiration of those who had sneered at it: and on the other hand, sieur de Biencourt, who in the beginning of Winter had had three good shallops, at the end did not have any at all; and he was obliged out of the wrecks of these, to patch up a clumsy boat large enough for three people at the most, which leaked so badly that it could not go three continuous leagues upon the sea, without sinking.

Now the boat being ready and under sail, Father Biard, with the servant and another who had joined them, named Jean Baptiste Charpentier, first made a trip up the river. They went in search of acorns and roots. These roots in the Savage language are called Chiquebi,¹ and grow readily near oak trees. They

¹ Perhaps the Jerusalem artichoke.

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are like truffles, but better, and grow under the ground strung to each other like a rosary. There are many of them in certain places, yet it is very difficult to find any place where the Savages have not already been digging, and thus only very small ones are to be found. Also we must work hard to get enough of them for a day's food.

After having gone to the upper part of the river for acorns and roots, he went to get some Smelts. The Eplan or Epelan is a little fish like the sardine of Roüen, which, coming from the sea, spawns in certain brooks toward the beginning of April. There is one of these brooks four leagues from Port Royal, which sometimes completely swarms with them at that season. For this reason the Savages also go there to camp and live.

After the Smelts come the Herrings, which in like manner spawn in another river. Father Enemond Massé engaged in this fishing for herring, and later for cod, until the coming of the month of May. And thus we were butting against time (as the saying is) with our shoulders, or rather with our hands and feet, dragging on our miserable lives until the arrival of the ship, whose voyage and route we must take up from farther back.

Chapter XXV (i.e., XXIII).

La Saussaye's arrival at Port Royal, and afterwards at St. Sauveur.

They fitted up a ship in France to take the Jesuits away from Port Royal, and to found a new French settlement in a more suitable place.

The chief of this expedition was Captain la Saussaye, who was to winter in the country with thirty persons, counting in the two Jesuits and their servant, whom he was to take up at Port Royal. He had with him, besides, two other Jesuits, Father Quantin and Gilbert du Thet, whom he was to take there; but they were to return to France in case two at Port Royal were not dead, of which there was some doubt. The

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entire company, counting the Sailors, numbered 48 persons. The master of the ship was Charles Flory of Habbe-ville, a discreet, hardy and peaceable man. The Queen in her goodness had contributed four of the King's tents or pavilions, and some munitions of war. Sieur Simon le Maistre had devoted himself earnestly to the freighting and provisioning, and Gilbert du Thet, the Jesuit lay brother, a very industrious man, had not spared himself; so they were amply provided with everything for more than a year, besides the horses and goats which were being taken over for domestic purposes. The ship was of a hundred tons burthen.

This expedition, thus fitted out, departed from Honfleur on the 12th of March, 1613, and landed first at Cap de la Hève on the coast of Acadie, on the 16th of May, having consumed two entire months in the passage. At Cap de la Hève Mass was said and a Cross erected, upon which was placed the coat of arms of Madame la Marquise de Guercheville, as a sign of having taken possession of it in her name. Thence putting to sea again, they came to Port Royal.

At Port Royal they only found five persons; namely, the two Jesuits, their servants, the Apothecary Hebert, and another. Sieur de Biencourt and the rest of his people were all quite far away, some here, some there. Now because Hebert was taking the place of the sieur, they presented to him the Queen's letters, which contained the royal command to release the Jesuits and to let them go wherever they pleased; so the Jesuits took away their property in great peace. And on that day as well as on the following, they made it as pleasant for Hebert and his company as they could so that this arrival would not be a cause of sadness to them. At their departure, (although they were not in need of anything) they left them a barrel of bread and some bottles of wine, that the Farewell might be received with equally good grace.

Unfavorable winds kept us about five days at Port Royal,

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and then a propitious Northeaster arising, we departed, intending to go to the river Pentegoet, to the place called Kadesquit,¹ the site destined for the new colony, and having many great advantages for such a purpose. But God ordained otherwise. For when we were to the Southeast of the Island of Menano,² the weather changed, and there came upon the sea such a dense fog that we could see no more by day than by night. We had serious misgivings in this time of danger, because in this place there are breakers and rocks, against which we were afraid of striking in the darkness; the wind not permitting us to draw away and stand out to sea. We continued thus two days and two nights, veering now to one side, now to the other, as God inspired us. We were moved by our affliction to offer prayers and vows to God, that he might be pleased to deliver us from the danger, and direct us to some place for his glory. In his goodness he hearkened to us, for when evening came on we began to see the stars, and by morning the fogs had all disappeared. We recognized that we were opposite Mount Desert, an Island, which the Savages call Pemetig.³ The pilot turned to the Eastern shore of the Island, and there located us in a large and beautiful port, where we made our thanksgiving to God, raising a Cross and singing to God his praises with the sacrifice of the holy Mass. We called this place and port Saint Sauveur.

Chapter XXVI (i.e., XXIV).

Why we stayed at Saint Sauveur; the good qualities of the place.

Now here in this Port of St. Sauveur a great contention arose between the Sailors and our company, or us other passengers, because the charter party and contract, drawn up in France, stipulated that the Sailors should be held at anchor in a Port of

¹ The river Kenduskeag, which empties into the Penobscot near the site of the present city of Bangor.

² *I.e.*, *Menano* = Grand Manan Island.

³ Or, Penetic. They came to Frenchman's Bay.

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Acadie, which we should name to them, and should remain there for the space of three months; the sailors maintained that they had arrived at a Port of Acadie, and that therefore the said term of three months should begin to run from the time of this arrival. It was explained to them that the Port was not the one that had been designated to them by the name of Kadesquit, and therefore the time would not begin to be counted until they were there. The pilot obstinately opposed this, maintaining that a ship had never gone as far as Kadesquit, and that he had no intention of becoming a discoverer of new routes; there was also some mistake about the name Acadie meaning Norambegue, which strengthened the dispute; reasons here, reasons there; nothing but argument, a bad augury for the future.

During these quarrels, the Savages signaled to us with smoke. This means that we can go and find them if we need them, which we did. The Pilot incidentally remarked to these Savages that the Port Royal Fathers were in his ship. They answered that they would like very much to see the one with whom they had become acquainted two years before at Pentegoet. This was Father Biard, who went immediately to see them, and in asking about the route to Kadesquit, said he wished to go there to live. "But," said they, "if thou wishest to stay in these regions, why dost thou not rather remain here with us, who have truly as good and beautiful a place as Kadesquit?" And they began to sing the praises of their home, assuring him that it was so healthy, and so agreeable, that when the Savages are sick in other parts, they have themselves brought to this place and here recover. These blessings did not affect Father Biard much, for he knew that the Savages did not lack that with which almost everyone is abundantly provided, namely, the ability to praise their own wares. But they knew well how to use their machinations against him to carry him off. "For," said they, "it is necessary that thou comest since Asticou, our Sagamore, is sick unto death; and if thou dost not come he will die with-

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out baptism, and will not go to heaven. Thou wilt be the cause of it, for he himself wishes very much to be baptized." This argument, so naively deduced, astonished Father Biard, and fully persuaded him to go there, especially as it was only three leagues away, and in all there would result no greater loss of time than one afternoon; so he got into one of their canoes with sieur de la Motte, Lieutenant, and Simon the interpreter, and went off.

When we arrived at Asticou's cabins, we found him truly sick, but not unto death, for it was only a cold that troubled him; so having assured ourselves of his good condition, we had plenty of leisure to go and visit this place, so greatly boasted about and so much better for a French settlement than Kadesquit. And in truth we found that the Savages were not wrong in praising it so highly, for we ourselves were wonderfully astonished; and having carried the news to the chiefs of our company, and they having come to view the place, all unanimously agreed that we ought to stay there and not look for anything better, especially as it seemed as if God told us to do so through the fortunate events which had happened to us, and through an evident miracle, which he performed in the restoration of a child of which we shall speak elsewhere.

This place is a beautiful hill, rising gently from the sea, its sides bathed by two springs; the land is cleared for twenty or twenty-five acres, and in some places is covered with grass almost as high as a man. It faces the South and East, and is near the mouth of the Pentegoet, where several broad and pleasant rivers, which abound in fish, discharge their waters; its soil is dark, rich and fertile; the Port and Harbor are as fine as can be seen, and are in a position favorable to command the entire coast; the Harbor especially is as safe as a pond. For, besides being strengthened by the great Island of Mount Desert, it is still more protected by certain small Islands which break the currents and the winds, and fortify the entrance. There is

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not a fleet which it is not capable of sheltering, nor a ship so deep that could not approach within a cable's length of the shore to unload. It is situated in latitude forty-four and one-third degrees, a position still less northerly than that of Bourdeaux.

Now having landed at this place and planted here the Cross we began to work ; and with the beginning of work also began the quarrels, a second sign and augury of our ill luck. The cause of these dissensions was principally that la Saussaye, our Captain, amused himself too much in cultivating the land, while all the chiefs of the enterprise were urging him not to employ the laborers for that purpose, but to get to work without delay upon the houses and fortifications, which he did not wish to do. From these disputes sprang others, until the English brought us all to an understanding with each other, as you will hear immediately.

Chapter XXVII (i.e., XXV).

Our Capture by the English.

Virginia is that continent which our forefathers called Mocosa, between Florida and new France under the 36th, 37th, and 38th parallels of north latitude. This country was first discovered and taken possession of by Jean Verazan in the name of Francis first (as we have said before); but the English, having explored it since then; namely, in the years 1593 and 1594, finally came there to inhabit it only seven or eight years ago. Their principal settlement, which they call Jemton (James-town) is distant from St. Sauveur, where we were located, about 250 leagues in a direct line. Judge if they have any good reason for quarreling with us.

Now these English of Virginia are accustomed every year to come to the Peucoit Islands,¹ which are twenty-five leagues from our St. Sauveur, to lay in a supply of codfish for the winter.

¹ Matinicus Islands.

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They were making for this place, as usual, in the Summer of the year of which we are speaking, 1613, when they happened to be caught in the fogs and drizzling rains which, as has been stated, often spread over these lands and seas during the summer. In the few days that they continued, the current imperceptibly cast them much farther to the Northeast than they thought. For they were fully eighty leagues nearer to new France than they supposed, being in the neighborhood of the port. But not recognizing the place, unfortunately some Savages passed that way, who went to see them, supposing they were French people looking for us. The English understood nothing of the Savage language, but from their gestures and actions they easily gathered that they were trying to make them understand that a vessel was near by, and it was a French vessel, for they heard the word "Normandia," the name by which we were called: and the acts of courtesy which the Savages performed to please them, they recognized as French ceremonies of civility and politeness. Therefore the English, who were in need of food and all other things, ragged and half-naked, seeking nothing but booty, inquired diligently as to the size of our ship, how many Cannon we had, how many men, etc. Having received full and satisfactory answers, they uttered a joyful shout, indicating that this was just what they had been looking for, and that they might lead them to us, for they desired nothing better. Nor were they pretending, but it was not in this way that the Savages understood the matter; for they thought that these were some good friends of ours, who were in great anxiety about us, and who, through friendship wished to see us above all other things. Hence one of them remained in their ship to conduct them thither; this he did, a favorable wind having arisen. The English, when they discovered us, began to prepare themselves for the fight, and it was then that the poor simple Savage recognized that he had been imposed upon, when he began to weep and to deplore his mistake, and to curse those who had thus

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deceived him. Often since then he has lamented and begged forgiveness for his misadventure, both from us and from the other Savages; for they wished to take revenge upon him for our misfortune, thinking he had been the malicious cause of it.

Now we, gazing upon this ship bearing down upon us thus from afar off, with full sails, did not know what to think, whether they were friends or foes, French or strangers. Whereupon the Pilot went out in a boat on a tour of discovery, while the others armed themselves. La Saussaye remained on shore and there kept the greater part of the men; Lieutenant la Mote, Ensign Ronseré, Sergeant Joubert, and all the more resolute men went to the ship. For it was there that the good men ought to be found.

The English ship came on swifter than an arrow, driven by a propitious wind, all screened in pavesade¹ of red, the banners of England flying, and three trumpets and two drums making a horrible din. Our pilot, who had gone out reconnoitering, did not return to his ship, because (said he) the English had the wind of him, and therefore, not to fall into their hands, he started to go round an Island. At all events the ship was now deprived of half its Sailors, and had only ten men altogether to defend it; and of these were none who understood naval warfare except Captain Flory, who certainly lacked neither courage nor the ability to command. But he had not time enough to prepare, nor the men, hence he could not heave the anchor to free the boat; which is, however, the first thing to be done in a battle at sea. But how useless would it have been to heave anchor, when the sails were all disarranged. For as it was Summer, and, as the vessel was lying in port without apprehension of danger, they had stretched their sails in the form of a cradle from Stern to bitts, to shade the deck, hence they could not be undone in so short a time. But this proved to be quite a lucky mischance: for in this way our people were well shielded

¹ A canvas screen stretched along the side of the vessel.

during the fight, so that the English were not able to pick out any particular one for their musket shots, and fewer men were killed or wounded.

At their approach, as it is usual to call upon them to say who they are, our people called out in sailor-fashion their "O O." But the English did not respond in this tone, but in another far more violent—with loud volleys from musket and cannon. They had fourteen pieces of artillery and sixty musketeers, trained to serve on ships, etc., and came to attack us upon the flanks, in front, behind, and wherever there was need, in regular order, as well as foot soldiers do on land.

The first volley from the English was terrible, the whole ship being enveloped in fire and smoke. On our side they responded coldly, and the artillery was altogether silent. Captain Flory cried, "Fire the cannon, fire," but the Cannoneer was not there. Now Gilbert du Thet, who in all his life had never felt fear or shown himself a coward, hearing this command and seeing no one obey it, took a match and made us speak as loudly as the enemy. Unfortunately, he did not take aim; if he had, perhaps there might have been something worse than mere noise.

The English, after this first and furious volley, came alongside of us, and held an Anchor ready to grapple our bitts. Captain Flory very opportunely paid out more cable, which stopped the enemy and made them turn away, for they were afraid if they pursued us we would draw them into shallow water; then seeing our vessel fall back, and thus being reassured, they again began to approach us, firing off the muskets as before. It was during this second charge that Gilbert du Thet received a musket shot in his body and fell stretched out across the deck. Captain Flory was also wounded in the foot, and three others in other places, which made them signal and cry out that we surrendered, for it was evidently a very unequal match. At this cry the English jumped into their boat to come

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to our ship. Our men also, misled by bad advice, jumped into theirs with the hope of gaining the shore, for they feared the arrival of the victors. These, however, reached the ship before our men could get away from it, and so they began to yell to them to come back, and, to enforce the order, fired upon them. Frightened at this, two of our men threw themselves into the sea, in order, I believe, to swim to the shore; but they were drowned, either because they were already wounded, or (what seems more probable) because they were struck and wounded in the water. These were two very promising young fellows, one from Dieppe, called le Moyne, the other named Nepveu, of the town of Beauvais; their bodies did not appear until nine days later, when means were found to recover them and they were given a religious burial. Such was the capture of our ship.

Chapter XXVIII (i.e., XXVI).

The Plundering of our Ship, and of our People, and the distresses we endured.

The victorious Englishman came on shore, where we had our tents and our houses just begun, and had our Captain searched for in all directions, saying that they wished to see our commissions; that this land belonged to them, and hence they had fallen upon us when they found us there; nevertheless, if we could show our good faith in the matter, and that we had come there under the authority of our Prince, that they would show some regard for it, wishing in no wise to violate the alliance between our two Kings. But the trouble was, la Saussaye could not be found, and on this account the shrewd and cunning Englishman seized his trunks, skillfully picked the locks, and, having found therein our commissions and royal patents, took possession of them; then, putting everything back in its place, each article just as he had found it, nicely fastened the trunks again. The next day, la Saussaye having returned, the English Captain, who knew his lesson remarkably

well, received him kindly and made his first inquiries with a fine show of courtesy; then he came to the point and demanded his commission, so there might be no doubt when the words and authority of the King, our SIRE, were actually seen and considered. La Saussaye answered that the letters were in his trunks. These were brought, and before he unlocked them he was advised to look closely to see if they had been tampered with, for, as to them, they were acting with all sincerity. La Saussaye found that all was in good order, but alas! he could not find the letters. Hereupon the English Captain changed his mien and his voice, and, frowning in the most proper manner, "How now," said he, "are you imposing on us? You give us to understand that you have a commission from your King, and you cannot produce any evidence of it. You are Outlaws and Pirates, every one of you, and merit death." Then he set his soldiers to plundering, and in this the whole afternoon was consumed. From the shore we looked on at the pillage of our property: for the English had left us on shore while they remained on the water, where they joined our vessels to theirs, for we had two, our ship and a barque constructed at this place and newly equipped. We were reduced to a pitiful state, but this was not the end. The next day they came on shore, and robbed us also of what we had there. Not all at one time, but at intervals, and whenever they came on shore, always appropriating some of our mantles, clothes, and other things. Once they maltreated and abused two of our men, which so frightened part of the others that they fled to the woods like poor hunted beasts, half-naked and without food, not knowing what would become of them.

Let us speak of the Jesuits. I have told you that Gilbert du Thet was struck down by a musket ball during the fight. When the English boarded our ship, they put him, together with all the other wounded men, into the hands of their Surgeon. This Surgeon was a Catholic, and known as such. He was very

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charitable, and did us a thousand kind services. Now as soon as Father Biard learned about Gilbert du Thet's wound, he sent a request to the Captain to have all the wounded carried on shore; this was granted, and so the said Gilbert had an opportunity to confess, and to bless and praise a just God, full of mercy to the Society of his Brothers; and he died in their arms. He passed away with great steadfastness, resignation, and devotion, twenty-four hours after he was wounded. He had his wish; for when leaving Honfleur, in the presence of the whole crew, he had raised his hands and eyes to Heaven, praying God that he might never again return to France, but that he might die working for the conquest of souls and for the salvation of the Savages. He was buried the same day at the foot of a large Cross which we had erected when we first went there.

Up to this time the Jesuits had not been recognized by the English, except as Priests. Now Father Biard and Father Enemond Massé went to the ship to speak with the English Captain, and explained to him openly that they were Jesuits, who had come to these regions to convert the Savages; then they implored him, by the blood of him whom he acknowledged as his Savior, and by the mercy which he expected from him, that he might be pleased to have pity upon these poor French, over whom God had given him power; and that in their wretched condition he might see how changeable are the affairs of this world, allow them to return to France, their native country, and furnish them means therefor. The Captain listened to them very kindly, and answered them with like courtesy: "But," said he, dissembling, "I am very much astonished at you Jesuits, who are generally regarded as conscientious and Religious men, being here, nevertheless, in the company of pirates, marauders, and idle wanderers, who are men without calling, without law, and without honor." Father Biard answered, and proved by many arguments, that their whole company were honest people and were recommended by

his most Christian Majesty, and so summarily refuted all opposing arguments, that the English Captain had to seem to agree with him, conquered by his logic. "Certainly," he added, "there has been indeed some fault, as far as I can see, in thus losing your letters. Nevertheless, I shall consider the matter of your return with your Captain." And from that time until our departure, he always had the two Fathers eat at his table, showing them great respect and courtesy. Now he had a thorn in his side, which caused him much uneasiness: it was the Pilot and Sailors who had escaped, and of whom he could get no news. This pilot, called "*le Bailleur*," from the city of Roüen, had gone out to reconnoitre (as has been stated,) and could not return to the ship in time to defend it; therefore he turned his boat aside, and when night came took in with him the other Sailors, and withdrew to a place of safety, out of sight of the English and beyond their power. At night he came to see us and to talk over with us what was to be done. He performed this kind act especially for the Jesuits; for he came to Father Biard and taking him by the hand implored him not to mistrust him because he was of the Pretended Religion, assuring him that he would not fail him, nor any of the Fathers, and that he should pray God not to forsake him also, as he was speaking from a sincere heart. Father Biard thanked him very affectionately, and on his part promised to remember his good will; he told him, however, that he did not wish to think of himself, until he saw all the others on a safe road, and then, let happen to him what God willed. He admonished the Pilot to be careful not to fall into the hands of the English, for the Captain was trying very hard to catch him. The Pilot wisely profited by this advice, and by that of the others. For, during the next two or three days, he went about in defiance of the English, as if making his escape and going for a ship, seeming to say to them that they need not count upon him this time. But he only withdrew behind some Islands not far off, to be on the lookout

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and to see what fortune might befall us. I believe this made the English Captain decide not to subject us to any worse treatment, however much he might have wished to do so, in regard to which I know nothing. Certainly, judging from what we experienced afterwards, he was indeed a very shrewd and cunning Captain, but nevertheless a gentleman of truly noble courage; nor were his men inhuman or cruel to any of us.

Now it is impossible to imagine the anxiety we endured at that time, for we knew not which way to turn. From the English, we expected only death or at least slavery; but to remain in this country, and for so many men to live among the Savages in their way for a whole year, looked to us like a long and miserable death. These good Savages, having heard about our misfortune, came and offered to do their best for us, promising to feed us during the Winter, and showing a great deal of sympathy for us. But we could hope for nothing better than they had; also we could see no prospect of finding any other expedients in such a desert. Now see how God provided for us.

Chapter XXIX (i.e., XXVII).

The Means which were found to return to France, and how thirty of our people arrived there after many trials.

The English Captain, whose name was Samuel Argal, and his Lieutenant, William Turnel, began, as they had promised, to treat with our Captain la Saussaye about our return. The English offered some very unfair conditions, but to make the story short, the conclusion was that as one boat remained to us of the two we had had, they would leave it for us, and with it we could go where God directed us. The English Captain, crafty as he was, wished to have a written acknowledgement signed by la Saussaye, in which he should testify that it was by his own choice that this course had been taken.

When this decision was heard, Father Biard went to see the

Captain, and represented to him that there remained thirty persons, and that it was not possible for so many people to crowd so small a vessel, and still less possible that they could therein make one hundred and fifty leagues, and cross bays of ten and twelve leagues, which would be necessary before they found any French ship in which they could take refuge: that such a thing was plainly throwing ourselves into the jaws of death and of despair. The Englishman answered that la Saussaye did not think so, but if they wished to lighten the said boat he would find a means of doing so: that he would take to Virginia the workmen who wished to go there, under promise that they would not force them in the matter of Religion, and that, after one year of service, they would send them back to France. Three accepted this offer.

Sieur de la Mote likewise had from the first consented to go to Virginia with the English Captain, who honored him greatly, because he had found him sword in hand, and saw in him many other good qualities, which proved a great advantage to all our company. He was, moreover, permitted to take with him some who were to enjoy the same favor as he did. Captain Flory also decided to try the same fortune, because he was encouraged to hope that he might thus recover his ship. Father Biard begged that four of them, namely two Jesuits and two others, might be taken to the Peucoit Islands² and recommended to the English fishermen, who are usually there, that they might, with their help, return to France. This the English Captain granted very willingly.

Thus the boat was sufficiently lightened, and our whole company was arranged in three equal divisions: for fifteen were with the Pilot, fifteen with the English, and fifteen had embarked in the boat left to them. Of this fifteen, Father Enemond Massé was one, for, it having been granted to the company who were to go in that boat to choose the one of the

² Probably the Matinicus Islands.

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three Jesuits whom they preferred to accompany them, it was he whom they favored the most.

This boat was then given in charge of la Saussaye, and of Father Enemond Massé, Jesuit, whom the English Captain highly honored. He delivered it over to them with a small supply of food, and other provisions. But our poor men were in great trouble when they had to sail their vessel; for in all, there were only two or three sailors, and these had neither map nor knowledge of the country. In this distress God sent them relief in the very nick of time; for the Pilot, who had placed his men in security, anxious to know how the rest of the company were faring, disguised himself as a Savage and went spying about the place. The Angel of God guided him through the right path, for he very opportunely encountered this boat, which was sailing off with no knowledge of navigation. This good luck seemed such a favorable omen to those in the boat, that they were sure from that time on that God would be merciful to them; and, as a superabundance of grace, they had great success in catching large Lobsters or Sea crabs, and the Savages generously gave them quantities of birds and fish and all other things they had, with great exhibitions of sympathy.

Thus they fell in with the boat containing the Sailors, and in their company reached the Island of Menano. This island is at the entrance to French Bay, and thence they went as far as Long Island; in this passage they had to cross ten leagues of a very angry sea caused by the strong and violent currents which flow between, and unfortunately, bad weather kept them there eight or nine days. Their sorrows and apprehensions made them have recourse to God with vows and prayers, which were heard as was evident from the beautiful weather which followed, according to their wish, and by means of which they reached Long Island. Here, in order to keep their promise, they planted a Cross, celebrated Holy Mass, and marched in procession. Here also God had prepared a

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storehouse; for they found in this place a good pile of salt, which sieur de Biencourt had previously left there, and to find use for it they caught a fine lot of fish. Thus provisioned, they passed on to Cape Forchu, where they found the Sagamore, Louys Membertou, who gave Father Enemond Massé a hearty welcome and tried by all means to keep him there. But the Father excused himself, giving as his reason the necessity of remaining with his company. The Savage made Tabagie for them all with Moose Meat, which was a great blessing to them, and then they doubled Cape Sable more cheerfully.

When they were in the neighborhood of Port au Mouton, they saw before them four boats filled with Savages, who were returning from the trading station. It was Roland and other Sagamores, who immediately recognized Father Enemond, and showed him a generosity truly wonderful; namely, by giving half a Sea Biscuit to each of his companions, and a whole one to him. Behold the world turned upside down, the Savages freely furnished bread to the French. This bread seemed like Manna to our afflicted (Frenchmen), for they had tasted none for three weeks. And to complete the fulfillment of their wish, the Savages told them that not far from there were two French ships, one at Sezambre and the other at Passepec. This caused our Pilgrims to hasten, that they might not fail to see them.

These two ships were from Saint Malo, one belonging to Dupont the Younger, whom we have frequently mentioned before, this ship being only about fifty tons burthen; Captain Vible Bullot commanded the other, of a hundred tons, and (a good augury) called the "Sauveur." Each of these two took its half of the whole band, but those in the smaller vessel suffered a great deal, being in need of everything, room, food, and water, and being horribly shaken up by tempests and adverse winds; our disaster, however, happened very opportunely for this vessel, because it had lost many of its crew, and

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could scarcely have returned without this chance meeting and fresh reinforcement afforded by our wanderers.

In the larger vessel, called the *Sauveur*, they fared better, as the Sailors were so kind-hearted that, of their own free will they stinted themselves of their rations, and left several good places for the accommodation of their guests. Father Enemond Massé had taken refuge in this one; and the Pilot, Alain Yeon, showed him great kindness. They were likewise assailed by tempests, and experienced the truth of the saying about St. Elmo's fire, or the consoling Brothers,—that when two appear at once, it is a good omen. For two appeared for a quarter of an hour upon the Lateen Sailyard, and soon after, the fury of the tempest and the sea abated.

Both ships arrived safe at St. Malo almost at the same time, although the "*Sauveur*" had departed twelve days later. You may imagine their joy in recalling to memory the dangers from which they had escaped. Father Enemond Massé and the whole company greatly praised the kindness and welcome they received in the city of Saint Malo, from my Lord the Bishop, from the Governor, the Magistrates, Merchants, and all the citizens in general.

Chapter XXX (i.e., XXVIII).

The Voyage to Virginia; and the Return to New France.

God be praised. Here were now two-thirds of our company conducted back to France, safe and sound, among their friends and kindred, who listen to them as they relate the stories of their wonderful adventures. Consequently you will wish to know what became of the other third, who remained behind in the hands of the English. In truth, a longer and more varied fate awaits them, and all will not emerge therefrom unharmed.

The English had three vessels; namely, their own, with which they had captured us, of a hundred and thirty tons;

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ours, which they had seized, of a hundred tons; and a barque of twelve tons, which they had likewise taken from us, and would not give back to be used for our return. They filled these three vessels with their people, and distributed us among them. *Sieur de la Mote*, *Captain Flory*, and half of the rest, making in all eight persons, were placed in the "*Capitanesse*," and the others, seven in number, remained in the captured ship, of which *Lieutenant Turnel* was made Captain.

Now as the beginning of their ill luck, the *Jesuits* were not taken to the *Peucoit Islands*, according to promise, but were taken straight to *Virginia* with the rest of the crowd, who were consoled with bright hopes, inasmuch as (said they) the *Marshal of Virginia*,¹ who has full power and authority of jurisdiction, was a great friend of the French, as he had secured all his more important honors through the recommendation of the late *Henry the Great*, having been his soldier and pensioner. This was preached to us frequently.

But our preachers did not take their text from the Gospels. For this charming *Marshal*, who had the fibre and character of a Frenchman, as they said, when he heard an account of us, talked about nothing but ropes and gallows, and of having every one of us hanged. We were badly frightened, and some lost their peace of mind, expecting nothing less than to ignominiously walk up a ladder to be let down disgracefully by a rope. But *Captain Argal* showed great magnanimity in defending us: for he opposed the *Marshal*, urging the promise given by him. And as he found himself too weak in this opposition, he published our commissions and *Royal patents*, of which I have spoken before, which he had surreptitiously removed from *la Saussaye's* trunks. And it was in this way we learned that he had made use of such a trick, for otherwise we should never have found it out. The *Marshal*, seeing these warrants of his most *Christian Majesty*, and the determination of the Captain, did not

¹ *Sir Thomas Dale*, Governor of *Virginia*, 1611-1616.

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dare go any farther; so, after several days spent in great apprehension, we were informed that their promise would be kept.

Now how they were going to keep it, and what means would be found to send us back to France, was the great question. The General,[†] the Marshal, and all the other important personages of Virginia assembled in Council. The result and conclusion of their consultation was to act still worse than ever, since it seemed to them they had the power to do so. For it was decreed that Captain Argal, with his three vessels, should return to new France, plunder and demolish all the fortifications and settlements of the French which he should find along the entire coast as far as Cape Breton: namely, to 46 and one half degrees north latitude, (for they lay claim to all this territory): that he was to have *la Saussaye* hanged, with all those of his men whom he found remaining within these limits; that he should likewise plunder the ships, which he encountered, finding means, however, to allow their people to return to France, in case they showed no resistance; and that we old prisoners should be placed in company with those whose lives had thus been spared. Such was the decision. But God was on high, and, as you will hear, he decreed otherwise in regard to a number of things.

In accordance with this decision, Argal again started for new France, stronger than before, for he had three vessels, and higher expectations; because the booty he had taken from us strengthened both his cupidity and his hopes. However, he did not take with him the half of our people, I know not why. In his vessel were Captain Flory and four others; in that of Lieutenant Turnel, (which was the one captured from us) the two Jesuits and a boy.

They directed their course first to *St. Sauveur*, for they expected to find *la Saussaye* and a newly arrived ship there.

[†] Sir Thomas Gates, a soldier of distinction, interested in Virginia affairs since 1608, when he was made governor of the colony on the James River.

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They were mistaken, inasmuch as la Saussaye was in France, as has been said. They burned our fortifications and tore down our Crosses, raising another to show they had taken possession of the country, and were the Masters thereof.

This Cross had carved upon it the name of the King of great Britain. Also, on account of a conspiracy, they hanged one of their men in the very place where, eight days before, they had torn down the first of our Crosses.

From saint Sauveur they sailed for Ste. Croix, sieur de Monts's old settlement; and, as they knew that Father Biard had been there, Argal wished him to conduct them thither; but the Father would not consent to do so. This caused him to be in complete disgrace with Argal, and in great danger of his life. Notwithstanding this, Argal wandered about, up and down, and, by dint of searching all places thoroughly and comparing them with the maps which he had taken from us, he at last found the place himself. He took away a good pile of salt, which he found there, burned the settlement, and destroyed all traces of the name and claims of France as he had been commanded to do.

Chapter XXXII (i.e., XXIX).

The taking and burning of Port Royal; Father Biard twice in great danger.

Captain Argal, having destroyed sainte Croix, did not know in what direction to sail to reach Port Royal, according to his commission, and hesitated all the more as he was afraid of being stranded upon such a dangerous coast without a guide who was very familiar with the locality; and, judging from the recent example of Father Biard, he did not dare expect that any Frenchman would consent to guide him, or give him sincere advice in the matter. For this reason, he began to look for a Savage, and by dint of much running about, lying in ambush, inquiring, and skillful maneuvering, he caught the Sagamore,

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a very experienced man, and well acquainted with the country ; under his guidance, he reached Port Royal. Now there was certainly bad luck for the French, as the English entered the Port by Moonlight, and dropped anchor in sight of the settlement, at a distance of more than two leagues ; so, if the French had been on their guard, they would have had an excellent opportunity to prepare for a fight, or to run away, for on account of the tide, the English were not in front of the settlement until ten or eleven o'clock the next day. I do not know what they were doing. At all events, when the English landed, they found no one in the fort, and saw shoes and clothing all scattered about ; so they were doubly pleased by this capture, first, because contrary to all expectations, they met no resistance ; and second, because they found a fair supply of booty, which they were not anticipating.

This unlooked-for capture of booty nearly cost Father Biard his life, in this way. As the English had already lost a great deal of time looking for sainte Croix, and afterward in finding a Savage who might act as their guide, Lieutenant Turnel was of the opinion that it would be better to abandon the voyage to Port Royal, and return as soon as possible to Virginia ; giving as his reasons that the place was very dangerous and the season too far advanced (for it was the end of October) ; that, after so much trouble, there would be no profit in the end, because they would find nothing there but misery and French hatred, which they would very deservedly draw down upon them by the conflagration they were going to kindle there, without being requited for it by any reward. Lieutenant Turnel had heard these arguments from Father Biard, with whom he often took great pleasure in conversing, and considered them very good. Now when Captain Argal had such an easy entry, and afterwards at the settlement of Port Royal (as we have said) found such a quantity of booty in food, clothes and utensils, he reproached his Lieutenant for his advice, and for his confidence in the

Jesuits: and on that account gave him a smaller part of the plunder. The Lieutenant was very angry, and so much the more so, as he had always had the reputation of being a man of intelligence and good judgment, which he had now forfeited, as he thought, on account of the Jesuit.

Now there was an English Puritan, master of the larger vessel, more malicious than all the others, yet hypocritical, for he made the finest pretensions in the world: but the other Englishmen advised us not to trust him, as he was wickedly prejudiced against us. So this man, seeing his opportunity, persuaded the Captain and Lieutenant, who he saw were aroused, to leave the Jesuit on shore, saying he did not deserve that the English should give him food since he had tried to prevent them from obtaining it, and offering a thousand other arguments. I know not what rescued the Jesuit so opportunely from this danger, unless it were his simplicity. For just as if he had been highly favored, and had great influence with these English, he dropped upon his knees before the Captain, two different times and upon two different occasions, to move him to pity towards the French of Port Royal who were wandering about through the woods, and to persuade him to leave them some food, their boat, and other means of passing the Winter. And see now what different requests were being made to this Captain: for at the same time that Father Biard was thus petitioning him in behalf of the French, a Frenchman was shouting out from afar, with most scandalous insults and abuse, that he ought to be slain. Now Argal (who has a noble heart), seeing the so sincere affection of the Jesuit, and, on the other hand, the so brutal and infuriated inhumanity of this Frenchman, who remembered neither his own country, nor kindnesses, nor Religion, nor was crushed by God's afflicting rod, considered that it would always be a reproach and disgrace to him, if, without trial and hearing from both sides, he should cast off, on account of a sly and cunning accusation, him to whom he

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had given his word. And so he rejected both the persuasions of the Englishman, and the rage of the Frenchman, looking upon the Jesuit all the more favorably as he saw that, however much he was attacked, there was no change or deterioration in his conduct.

Now this Captain, having taken away from Port Royal everything that seemed convenient to him, even to the boards, bolts, locks, and nails, set the place on fire. A truly pitiable thing, for in an hour or two the work of several worthy people during a number of years was reduced to ashes, and may our Lord grant that this same fire has so completely destroyed all sins, which may have been committed in this place, that they may never again arise in any other place, nor ever provoke the just and dreadful vengeance of our God. The English (as I have stated elsewhere) destroyed, everywhere, all monuments and evidences of the dominion of the French; and this they did not forget to do here, even to making use of pick and chisel upon a large and massive stone, on which were cut the names of *sieur de Monts* and other Captains, with the *fleurs-de-lys*. This done, they weighed anchor to sail away, but bad weather detained them three or four days at the mouth of the Harbor.

While they remained anchored here, a Frenchman from among those at the Port asked to confer with him; his request was granted. Now among the nice things which this fine parliamentarian did, was to say to the English Captain that he was very much surprised indeed that he had not already rid the world of the pernicious Jesuit, who was in one of his ships. If he were not despatched, perhaps some ill luck might keep him there to take revenge for the French upon the English by some wicked treason, which the Jesuit would be guilty of, in his way and at his opportunity. For he was (said he) a true and native Spaniard, who, having committed several crimes in France, on account of which he was a fugitive from justice, had

also been the cause of a great deal of scandal at Port Royal, and there could not be the slightest doubt that he would do something still worse to the English. Argal, when he heard it said that Father Biard was a native Spaniard, could not believe it; but this charge, made in writing and signed by five or six persons, was handed to him; and they urged him strongly to put on shore and desert Father Biard. But the more they urged him, the less the Englishman would yield to them, because in giving his consent, he could not escape the dishonor of having broken faith and failed in doing justice; whereas, if he kept him until he got to Virginia, he could count upon having him executed there, at the same time receiving praise for his fidelity to his word, and for his patience in bearing with him. For when he would communicate to the Marshal this statement of the French, and add to it that the Father would not consent to guide them to the Island of Ste. Croix, and had tried to keep the English from going to Port Royal, there would be no danger of his escaping from the hands of the Marshal, from which they had hardly rescued him before, although then they had no claim upon him. Thus God willed that he should be saved that time, and still more wonderfully since then, as you will hear. Meanwhile, you will wisely observe to what madness the evil spirit incites those who sell themselves to him, and how necessary it is to be cautious in believing slanders and detractions; for Father Biard had lived in Port Royal, and had always been universally recognized for what he is; namely, a good, native-born Frenchman, who had never even been in Spain, neither he, nor his father, nor his mother, nor any of his kindred. Now notwithstanding all this, a Frenchman was found so possessed with the spirit of bloodshed, that to have him killed he was led to commit such a monstrous act of imposition, and while under the chastisement of God, derived no other advantage therefrom than to sell himself so hopelessly to Satan and to calumny. This exceeds all ordinary conceptions

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of wickedness, and it is difficult to conceive how a man can be so desperately given up to and enslaved by sin.

Chapter XXXI (i.e., XXX).

The Departure from Port Royal; Various Adventures of the Ships; and How we were compelled to stop at the Açores.

On the ninth of November of this year, 1613, the English left Port Royal, intending to go back to Virginia, and there to enjoy their booty during the following winter. Now from this time on, Lieutenant Turnel only looked upon Father Biard as an abominable rascal: he hated him still more when he thought of the past, for then he had openly shown his esteem and love for him on account of his naive simplicity and open candor. But having seen the testimony in writing of so many Frenchmen, who assured him that he was a native Spaniard, and a wicked man, he preferred to believe that the Jesuit was a liar, rather than to disbelieve so many others who accused him. Therefore his hatred was all the more irreconcilable against the deep and impenetrable hypocrisy (as he thought) of a Spaniard, pretending to be a Frenchman, which he, reputed to be a man of sagacity and wisdom, had not been able to discover in so long a time, but had allowed himself to be drawn by it into great familiarity and friendship. Such was the wrath of Captain Turnel, whom I shall hereafter call simply Captain and no longer Lieutenant, because we are going to be separated (from the other ships); hear in what way.

On the second day after our departure, on the eve of St. Martin, so terrible a storm arose that our three vessels were scattered so effectually that they never came together afterwards, but all sailed away in different directions.

The barque was never seen again, and, no news of it having been heard, no one doubts that it was lost with the six Englishmen who were on board.

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The Ship "Capitanesse," which Argal commanded, notwithstanding its hindrances, safely reached port in Virginia, after three weeks or thereabout. The Marshal (of whom we have spoken above) listened very willingly to Captain Argal as he related all that had taken place, and in a proper spirit of devotion awaited Father Biard, to shorten for him his voyages and to make him find the end of the world from the middle of a ladder; but God, master of life and all-powerful, disposes of his creatures according to his own good pleasure, and not according to the whims of human authority; taking pleasure in the title given him by the Psalmist, of being the Lord, *Who delivers the poor from the hands of the strong, and the destitute from the power of those who strip him*, as I am going on to show you he did.

The two Jesuits and a French boy were in the captured ship which had been committed to the care of Captain Turnel; this ship, separated from Argal by the tempest, was so incessantly followed by it for sixteen days, that the Captain, losing hope of being able to reach Virginia, called together all his people, and took counsel with them upon the best way to save their lives. For there seemed to be no probability that they would longer be able to combat the storms so as to keep near Virginia, because they had in the ships the horses taken from Port Royal and these spoiled as much of the water as they drank; the winds had so torn their sails and broken their gun-wales and ropes, that they had nothing left with which to repair them; the stock of food was low, except the codfish, of which they had enough; but as to bread, they had had, during three months, only two ounces a day to each person, very rarely three; and so there remained but little of it. In this consultation, the sailors were of the opinion that their honor demanded them to hold out some days longer. And (in approval of their decision) fair weather came the next day, and bore them so far ahead that they judged they were no more than twenty-five leagues from their port.

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To tell the honest truth, the Jesuits did not pray for this fair weather, knowing very well to what fate it was carrying them. Now God, taking pity on them, as I believe, aroused a lively and vigorous southwester, which blew right in the Englishmen's teeth, and forced them to lie to (as the saying is), to reef the sails, and to examine their consciences.

The Captain, seeing this fury of the winds and waves, thought it well not to persist in his course, but decided to make for the Açores, 7 hundred leagues from there, to provide for their necessities and to wait for good weather. He turned the prow in that direction, and immediately thereafter they killed the horses which had been spoiling and drinking the water, so that it was all infected and had a bad smell; and even this was measured out to us in small quantities. But the horse-flesh was very good, according to the taste of the Jesuits.

Now during these furious and horrible tempests, when all had good reason to look into their consciences, God especially inclined the Captain to do so, in such a manner, that once, when he was feeling very repentant, he called Father Biard and held with him the following conversation, which I here insert almost word for word: for this Captain spoke good French, and many other common languages, besides Latin and Greek, which he understood very well; he was a man of great intelligence and a thorough student. "Father Biard," said he, "God is angry at us, I see it clearly; he is angry at us, I say, but not at you; angry at us, because we went to make war upon you without first giving you notice, which is contrary to the rights of nations. But I protest that it was contrary to my advice, and my inclination. I did not know what to do, I had to follow, I was merely a servant. But I tell you I see very clearly that God's wrath is kindled against us, but not against you, although on your account: for you do nothing but suffer." The Captain pausing here, you may judge whether or not the Jesuit failed to make a suitable answer. The Captain took up another

phase of the question. "But Father Biard," says he, "it is strange that your countrymen from Port Royal should accuse you thus." The Father answers, "But, Sir, have you ever heard me slander them?" "By no means," he says, "but I have clearly observed that when evil things are said of them, both before Captain Argal and before me, you have always defended them, of which I am a good witness." "Sir," the Father says, "draw your own conclusions from that, and judge which have God and truth on their side, whether the slanderers, or the charitable." "I know that very well," says the Captain, "but, Father Biard, did not charity make you lie when you told me we should find nothing but misery at Port Royal?" "Pardon me," answers the Father, "I beg you to remember that I told you only that when I was there, I saw and found nothing but misery." "That would be all right," says the Captain, "if you were not a Spaniard, as they say you are; for, being one, the great good which you desire for the French is not on account of the love you bear them, but on account of your hatred of the English." Upon this Father Biard entered into a long explanation; but he could never eradicate this opinion from the Captain's mind, who said it was not credible that five or six Frenchmen, surrounded by afflictions, would have consented to sign a false accusation against a Priest, one of their own fellow-citizens, deriving no other profit therefrom than to destroy him, and in this way to satisfy their evil passions.

I have narrated this to you that the kindly dispositions of providence may be recognized, and that you may understand how God proceeded, little by little, to prepare the heart of the Captain. For both he and his crew were greatly perplexed, when they found themselves near the Açores. The reason for this was, that these Islands are inhabited by Catholic Portuguese, so the English judged that in anchoring there, they would have to allow the ship to be visited; and if in this visit

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the priests were discovered, it would be all over with them, for the Jesuits, as Catholics, would be liberated, and they (the English) would be hanged, or at least condemned to the chain and ball, as robbers of Priests.

The remedy for this evil was an easy one; namely to make the Jesuits take a leap into the sea. Nevertheless, as I have shown you, the fear of God was awakened and this contended for them. Our Lord indeed who protected them through the prayers of his glorious Mother, caused the Captain to decide to conceal them in the hold of the ship, hoping this would suffice for their security, as it did; but the good faith of the Jesuits assisted therein, as you will soon hear.

Chapter XXXII (i.e., XXXI).

How the Ship was visited at the Açores, and how the Jesuits kept their promise to the English.

God's hand was evidently stretched over the Jesuits for their protection, as you have been able to see heretofore. It was also manifest in another danger through which they passed, and which we do not relate here, lest we be tedious, in which, nevertheless, they confess to have felt more fear than in many others, and not without cause. This divine protection was even more evident in removing all apprehensions of danger from the Captain. For if he had foreseen the great risks which he ran afterwards, I am not sure that he or his crew would have been so conscientious as not to have resolved upon murder, before falling into the perplexities to which they were in this way reduced.

They came to the Island of Faéal, one of the Açores where, upon their arrival, they intended only to anchor near the town, to send their boat for a supply of water, which they needed, and to buy a few biscuit and other very necessary articles. In this way it was quite easy to conceal the Jesuits; for those

vessels which are some distance from the land are only slightly visited, and, this visit over, all danger is past. This was the reason why the Captain so readily resolved not to use cruelty. But fate found other ways and means, which he had not considered; for he was obliged to enter the harbor and remain in full view of the town, and of other ships. There, by an unlucky accident, our ship ran foul of a Spanish caravel, loaded with sugar and broke its bowsprit; the Spaniards thought this was a ruse by means of which to surprise their vessel and rob it, just as a French ship had done in the same port five weeks before; and so they began to cry "pirates!" at the same time arming their crew; just a little more and they would have come to blows. There was great commotion and noise in the town, and considerable alarm throughout all the ships in the harbor. The Captain had to go on shore, and remain there as a hostage and security; and even then, no one could believe that he was other than a Pirate. They came to visit and revisit the ship, and the Jesuits played, as the saying is, at hide and seek, from top to bottom, from dungeon to hold, always finding some new hiding place. Now during the liveliest and fiercest suspicions and disputes, the Spaniards came to visit the ship, and the poor Fathers and the French boy were huddled behind a boat, still and breathless; for if they had even breathed a little loud, or moved hand or foot, they would have been discovered. The thing was so dangerous that our English were seized with a panic. But the Jesuits wished to continue to keep faith with them for several reasons, and among others to make the slanderers of the Catholic Church really see that they ascribed to it wrongfully and untruthfully the doctrine that it is not necessary to keep faith with heretics; which is totally false and contrary to its belief. But let us return to the Spaniards. They never discovered the said fathers in their visit, and went away with a very high opinion of the English. The latter, when they saw them outside,

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recovering from the panic into which they had been thrown, began to embrace the Fathers as effusively, and to make as great a celebration in acknowledgment of their sincerity, as a company of kind kindred and friends would make at a peaceful reunion after a very long absence and separation. These same English have often since then praised the Fathers for their fidelity, in the presence of their Ministers in England; and the Ministers have thereupon made great demonstrations of astonishment and admiration.

Chapter XXXII.

The Arrival in England: and the Deliverance of the Jesuits.

The English were occupied three entire weeks at this Island which we call Faéal, and during this time the poor Jesuits were not able to see the Sun. Now as these English were in need of money, they could not fit themselves out there, and this made them firmly decide to make no further attempt to return to Virginia, but to go back to England, especially as they now found themselves in the present year, 1614, which was the term of their service.

Now on our way to England the tempest cast us out of la manche[†] (as it is called); that is, out of the Channel between France and England, and we were obliged to take refuge in the Harbor of Milfier (Milford), in the Province of Wales. There again all provisions failed us, which compelled our Captain to go to Pembroch (Pembroke), the principal city of this place, and a Vice-admiralty. But at Pembroke he was taken prisoner, as they suspected him of being a Pirate. The suspicion arose from the fact that he and his crew were English, yet their ship was made after French models, which made them think he came from Port de Gryp on the Arcin Islands, this

[†] The French name of the English Channel, from the supposed resemblance between the shape of the channel and that of a sleeve (= manche).

side of Cape Escumant. The Captain justified himself as well as he could, by telling the truth; but they did not believe him, inasmuch as he had no Commission, and could not have had, because being nothing but a Lieutenant he followed his Captain, from whom he was accidentally separated by the storm, as you have heard. For this reason he was obliged to produce, as witnesses of his honesty, the two Jesuits whom he had in his ship, irreproachable men, as he said, and said truly.

Immediately, by command of the Magistrate, the Jesuits were summoned to come on shore, where they were very respectfully interrogated in a Court of Justice. They stated the real facts of the case, and upon their testimony the Captain was acknowledged to be a gentleman of honour and of worth; as to the disentanglement of our difficulties about new France, these were to be reserved for the King. Nevertheless, we had to make a very long sojourn at Pembroke awaiting an answer from London for it was necessary to send there, partly to obtain money, partly to make known the affair to the high Admiral, and the company of Merchants who have charge of Virginia.

And here admiration makes me pause and hold my breath, to cry out with the Wise Man, That the dispensations of Divine providence are truly arranged by compass, joined harmoniously, and measured by weight and balance even to the half of a grain. For this call of the Jesuits was without doubt, a contrivance of this paternal providence, which everywhere assisted them; inasmuch as, if they had remained in the ship, as they were doing, in want of everything, in the depths of winter (for it was February), and had continued to do this during four weeks, it is probable that they would have died of cold and starvation; but, by means of this summons, they became known to the Judge, honorable and grave personage as he is, and he, having heard how badly off they were in the ship, had them lodged in the house of the Mayor of the city, and paid for them himself, saying they might pay it back if

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they had the means, otherwise it would be given to God. "For" (said he), "it would be a great disgrace to us if such honorable and learned men were not received among us with courtesy." This kind Gentleman's name is Nicolas Adams, Vice admiral of Pembroke.

Now during this sojourn all kinds of people went to see them, and some from a great distance, through curiosity to see Jesuits dressed in their robes, as they were then and always have been until their return to France. Ministers, Justices, Gentlemen, and others came to confer with them; even a Lord of the great Council wished to have the pleasure of pitting four Ministers against them in debate. I say Ministers, to make myself intelligible to the French, for in England they call them Priests. And the Chief one in the debate was an Archdeacon, for the English still have a great many things in common with the Catholic Church, as the Order of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Archpriests, Archdeacons, Curates, Canons, etc.; the Episcopal laying on of hands in the ordination of Priests, and lesser Orders, and in the confirmation of children; the Chrism and its ceremonies, the sign of the Cross, the Image of this and of other things; the Psalmody and usual form of worship, the prescribed Saints' days, the Vigils, Fasts, Lent, Abstinence from meat on Friday and Saturday; Priestly robes, and consecrated vessels. And those who condemn all these things, as the Calvinists of France and of Scotland do, and call them damnable superstitions, and inventions of the Antichrist, are by the English called Puritans, and are detested by them as abominable plagues.

When at last an answer came from London, it was learned that the Ambassador of France¹ had heard about the arrival of this ship, and was negotiating its surrender, especially the surrender of the Jesuits, having had orders to do so from his most Christian Majesty. This was another effect of divine Provi-

¹ Sieur Buisseaux or Bisseaux.

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dence, since it caused this our arrest in the Province of Wales to the end that it might be known to all; for we have strong proofs, and you will soon see some of them, that if the Merchants in whose hands lay the administration of Virginia, had been able to have their own way, not one foreigner who was to be found in Virginia, would ever have returned to his own country.

To finish our story as quickly as possible, note that the Jesuits were taken by a long roundabout way to the Harbor of Sanduicts (Sandwich), and from there sent to Dover by order of the King, and from Dover to Calais, where they rendered thanks to God for such signal blessings and providences, for which they had good cause, having been nine months and a half in the hands of the English. Sieur d'Arquien, Governor of Calais, and Monsieur la Baulaye, Dean, gave them a very warm reception and provided them with means to return to their College at Amiens.

Chapter XXXIV (i.e., XXXIII).

The Return of Sieur de la Mote, of Captain Flory and others, and the Surrender of the Ship.

Shortly after this liberation of the Jesuits, God in his mercy rescued nearly all the others who had been shipwrecked, and in the following way.

The boy who was with the Jesuits, called Guillaume Crito, was taken to London and thence sent to his Father at Hon-fleur.

At the same time sieur de la Mote also returned to England in a vessel from the Bermudas, which had stopped at Virginia.

Captain Argal generously contended with Marshall Thomas Deel (of whose great asperity of temper you have heard us speak) to obtain from him permission for sieur de la Mote to return, and at last it was granted.

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Now this sieur la Mote was very much astonished when suddenly, on arriving in England, no one spoke to him any more, nor looked at him, and he found himself forsaken by all; and the worst of it was that he was taken sick on board the ship. He immediately suspected the nature of the danger which threatened him, and whence it came; namely, from the Virginia merchants, who would have liked to get rid of him, and did not know how. Therefore he tried by secret means, and finally succeeded in having his story made known to Monsieur de Bisseaux, worthy Ambassador of his most Christian Majesty, who immediately sent to him two Gentlemen who had him liberated and well treated, as he deserved to be for his courage and his valor.

At the same time also Madame la Marquise de Guercheville sent la Saussaye to London, to request the surrender of the ship, and reparation for the wrongs involved in this iniquitous robbery. The ship has been given up, but, up to the present, nothing else has been obtained.

And now, just as our ship, having been set free, was about to wing her way to France, her native land, behold, Captain Flory, her Master, as if by appointment, arrives upon the scene to step in and take command of her.

Captain Argal, about to return to England, had rescued him and two other Frenchmen from the hands of the Marshal. Certainly this Argal has shown himself such a person that we have reason to wish for him that, from now on, he may serve a better cause and one in which his nobility of heart may appear, not in the ruin, but in preservation of honest men.

Of all our number, three died in Virginia, and four still remain there, for whose liberation everything possible is being done. May God in his mercy give them patience, and may he derive from our affliction whatever good is acceptable to his providence and mercy. Amen.

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There are four more chapters in the Relation, which are devoted to a discussion of the progress of Christianity among the savages, of the title of France to the territory of New France, and of the wisdom of colonization in New France. The "Factionist," whom Father Biard refers to on page 463 and whose criticisms of the Jesuits are discussed at length in the introductory chapters of Biard's Relation, was probably Marc Lescarbot. He was supposed to be the author of an anonymous attack upon the Jesuits and their doings at Port Royal which was published in France after the wreck of that colony. The title of this pamphlet was, "Factum du procès entre Jean de Biencourt et les Pères Biard et Massé, Jésuites." Lescarbot suffered imprisonment for a time on account of this controversy. The nature of the feeling between the Jesuits and Biencourt and his friends is shown by the effort of some of the Port Royal colonists to induce Captain Argall to desert Father Biard or to make way with him. See above, pp. 508-511 *et passim*.

2. *From Histoire de la Nouvelle-France. Par Marc Lescarbot.
Paris: Chez Adrian Perier, 1618. 3d Ed.*

FIFTH BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF NEW FRANCE.

*Containing what has been accomplished there since our
return, in the year 1607.*

Chapter I.

Relation of our illustrious King Henry to great enterprises : Connection of the sieurs de Monts and de Poutrincourt : Revocation of the privileges of the Beaver trade. Response to the envious. Dignity of the Christian character. Perils of the sieur de Monts.

GREAT enterprises are fitting to the great, and no one can gain a name that will do honor to his posterity except by actions that are extraordinarily lofty and difficult of execution. This fact should so much the more move our French people to the consideration of the subject of which we treat, as glory is certain there and inestimable recompense, such as God has prepared for those who cheerfully employ themselves for the exaltation of his name. If our great King Henry IV of glorious memory had not had more exalted purposes, tending to unite and render uniform all the hearts of Christendom, in sooth of the whole universe, he certainly would have been somewhat interested in this affair. But vexations have shortened his days to the great misfortune not only of ourselves but of these poor savage nations, for whom we had hoped a prompt expedient to effect their entire conversion. We must not, however, lose courage. For in the most desperate affairs God often intervenes and shows himself ready to help.

Until this period the sieurs de Monts and de Poutrincourt alone took the risk of this undertaking, the only ones to show by actual effort their desire to see the land Christianized. Both

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have (so to speak) worn themselves out in the cause, and nevertheless, as long as they can breathe and in however slight measure keep up, they will not give up the struggle, fearing lest their desertion might discourage those who may be disposed to follow in their footsteps. These two have made a pathway for the others, and at this time were the only ones who (as leaders) have incurred expense to forward the work ; it is concerning them and what they have done that the narrative of this book is to treat.

And to commence according to the order of things. After we had represented to the late King, to the Chancellor and other personages of rank, the fruits of our culture, the *sieur de Monts* petitioned his Majesty for confirmation and renewal of the privileges of the Beaver trade, which had in his case been revoked that year at the instance of the merchants of Saint Malo, who seek their own profits and not the advancement and honor of God and of France. His petition was accorded by the council, but only for one year. A grant of such short duration would not be conducive to the foundation of great projects on a solid basis ; and moreover, there is nothing more natural than to leave to each (to the exclusion of the outsider) the enjoyment of the property in the lands he occupies and especially here where the cause itself is so favorable that it should have no need of intercessors.

The chief causes of the aforesaid revocation were, first, the high price of the Beavers which they attributed to the said *sieur de Monts* ; second, the freedom of trade taken away from the subjects of the King, in a land which they have frequented from time immemorial ; third, that the said *Sieur*, having for three years enjoyed the said privilege, had not yet made any converts to Christianity. I am not in the pay of the latter to defend his cause. But I know that, today, since freedom has been restored, the said Beavers sell at double of what he received for them. Because greed has been so great, the mutual competition

of the merchants has spoiled the trade. Eight years ago two cakes or two knives would purchase a beaver, and today it would require fifteen or twenty, and in this year, 1610, there are some men who have given gratuitously all their merchandise to the Savages, so as to stop the holy enterprise of the *Sieur de Poutrincourt*. So great is the avarice of man.

Therefore this freedom of trade is far from being useful to France; it is on the contrary extremely prejudicial. Freedom of commerce is indeed a very favorable thing, since the King loves his subjects with a paternal love. But the cause of religion and that of the inhabitants of a new province are still more worthy of favor. Not one of the merchants would ever draw a sword in the service of the King, and in the future his Majesty may find there good men to execute his commands. The public derives no profit from these individual traders, but one day old France may derive usefulness, honor and glory, from a *New France*. And as to the priority of navigation I will say that before the enterprise of the *Sieur de Monts* none of our mariners up to this period had passed *Tadoussac*, excepting Captain *Jacques Quartier*. And in the direction of the Ocean, no Newfoundlander had passed the bay of *Campseau*, before our voyage made for the purpose of fishing.

The failure to make converts to Christianity should not call forth blame. The Christian character is too dignified to apply it at once in an unknown region to barbarians who have no religious feeling. And if that had been done, with what blame and regret would we have left those poor people, without pastor or other solace, when by the revocation of the said privileges, we were forced to leave all and retrace our steps to France? The name "Christian" should not be profaned and should not be made an occasion to the unbelievers to blaspheme against God. Thus the said *Sieur de Monts* could not do any better and any other man would have experienced very great obstacles. Three years passed before he discovered a locality where the

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air was healthy and the ground fertile. He found himself on the island of St. Croix, surrounded on all sides by sick people during the severity of winter, with scanty provisions; conditions sufficiently bad to perplex the most resolute man in the world. And when Spring came his courage carried him a hundred leagues through a hundred perils in search of a more healthful port which as we have said elsewhere he did not succeed in finding. Briefly I will quote here this half quatrain from the Prince of our Poets:

¹ "It is very easy to criticize,
And very difficult to do better."

[Chapters II–VII of this book are devoted to the story of Champlain at Quebec and among the Iroquois, and are omitted here.]

Chapter VIII.

That one must depend only upon oneself. Embarkation of the *Sieur de Poutrincourt*. Long Voyage. Conspiracy. Arrival at Port Royal. Baptism of the Savages. Use of compulsion in Religion. Means of attracting these peoples. Mission for the Church of New France.

It is now fitting that we speak of the *Sieur de Poutrincourt*, a nobleman long set on these things, who since our return from New France had for two years been too much the dupe of two men of noble birth whom he wished to please, in such wise that they pretended they were desirous of preparing a great expedition to the New Lands. *Poutrincourt* lost heavily, having wasted two years of time and a great deal of money. He had even sacrificed his outfit, which was ready in the year 1609. Realizing now from his unfortunate experience that men are deceivers, he resolved to wait no longer for any one and to

¹ "Il est bien aysé de reprendre,
Et mal aysé de faire mieux."

Pierre Ronsard.

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depend entirely on himself, like the laborer ready to mow, in the fable related by Aulus Gellius.¹ Having then made his preparations at Dieppe, he sailed, February 25, 1610, with a number of honest men and mechanics. This voyage was very ill-timed and vexatious. For at the commencement they were carried within sight of the Azores, and were then constantly beaten by contrary winds for the duration of two months, during which period (as idle men are ready to occupy their time badly) some by secret intrigues would have dared to conspire against him, proposing that after they had made themselves masters of the ship, they would go to certain localities where they heard there were many Savages in order to pillage and rob them; and then they would become sea-pirates and would finally return to France where they would divide their spoil. They would then take their station on the high-road to Paris to continue the same manner of life, until they would grow so rich that they would retire and pass the remainder of their days in repose. Such was the ridiculous plot of these wretches whom however he pardoned with his usual good nature.

These clouds of rebellion being dissipated, finally they came to land at the island of Mt. Desert, which is at the entrance of the bay which leads to the river Norombegue, of which we have already spoken in its place. From there he proceeded to the river St. Croix, where he received a complaint (I have seen it in his letters) that a certain Frenchman who had arrived before him had an intrigue with a Savage girl, who was promised in marriage to a young man also a Savage,² concerning which the said Sieur took cognizance, remembering the strict recommendation of the Sieur de Monts that abuses of this

¹ Aulus Gellius, lib. II, chap. 29. A fable by the Phrygian Æsop about a lark whose nest was built in the corn. The bird was not disturbed as long as the farmer tried to get his friends and neighbors to help cut the corn, but when she heard that the farmer and his son would do the work themselves, she promptly removed her nest to another place.

² See Book IV, chap. 2.

kind be not permitted yonder, especially lubricious relations between a Christian and an unbeliever. This is a thing which Villegagnon, when he was in Brazil, had also sternly censured.

After having again looked over this coast he came to Port Royal, where he carried great consolation to the Savages, who informed themselves of the health of those who had been in his company four years before: and particularly of the great chief Membertou, who, understanding that I had made his name famous in France, kept asking why I had not returned. The buildings with the exception of the roof were found intact and the furniture was in the place where it had been left.

The first care of the said *Sieur* was to cultivate the land and prepare it to receive the wheat seed for the following year. This being done, he did not wish to neglect the spiritual interests which he considered the real object of his expedition, viz.: to procure the salvation of these poor savage and barbarous peoples. When we were there formerly, we had given them good impressions of the knowledge of God, as can be seen by the account of our voyage and my "Farewell to New France." After the return of the aforesaid *Sieur* he inculcated anew the lessons which he had already given them, and this too with the help of his son, the Baron de Saint Just, a young nobleman of great promise and of great skill in navigation, in which he had acquired much experience during two voyages. After the necessary instruction had been given, they were baptized on the feast of St. John Baptist, June 24, 1610, to the number of twenty-one, to each of whom was given the name of some great or notable personage on this side of the Atlantic. For instance Membertou was called Henri after the King who was still thought to be alive. His eldest son was named Louis after the Dauphin, God bless him; his wife was named Marie after the Queen Regent, and in like manner the others, as can be seen by the extracts from the Registry of the baptisms, that I have here appended.

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Extract from the Registry of Baptisms of the Church of Port-Royal in New France.

1. On St. John Baptist's day, 1610, Membertou, chief Sagamore, more than one hundred years old, was baptized by M. Jessé Fleché, priest, and named Henry by M. de Poutrincourt after the name of the King.

2. Actandinech, third son of the said Henry Membertou, was named Paul by the said Sieur de Poutrincourt after the name of Pope Paul.

3. The wife of the said Henry was presented by the said Sieur de Poutrincourt in the name of the Queen, and named Marie after her name.

4. Membertouchis, eldest son of Membertou, more than sixty years old, was also baptized and named Louis by M. de Biencourt after the name of M. le Dauphin.

5. The daughter of the said Henry, presented by the said Sieur de Poutrincourt, and named Marguerite after the name of Queen Marguerite.

6. The eldest daughter of the said Louis, aged thirteen years, also baptized and named Christine by the said Sieur de Poutrincourt after the name of Madame the Princess Royal of France.

7. The second daughter of the said Louis, aged twelve years, also baptized and named Elizabeth by the said Sieur de Poutrincourt after the name of Madame the younger daughter of the King of France.

8. Arnest, cousin of the said Henry, was presented by the said Sieur de Poutrincourt in the name of M. le Nuncio and named Robert after his name.

9. The eldest son of Membertoucoichis, now called Louis Membertou, aged five years, baptized and presented by M. de Poutrincourt, who named him Jean, after his own name.

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10. The third daughter of the said Louis, presented by the said *Sieur de Poutrincourt* in the name of *Madame* his wife, also baptized and named *Claude*.

11. The fourth daughter of the said Louis, presented by *M. Robin*, in the name of his mother, was named *Catherine*.

12. The fifth daughter of the said Louis was named *Jeanne*, so named by the said *Sieur de Poutrincourt* after the name of one of his daughters.

13. *Agoudegouen*, cousin of the said *Henry*, was named *Nicolas* by the said *Sieur de Poutrincourt* after the name of *M. des Noyers*, Advocate in the *Parlement de Paris*.

14. The wife of the said *Nicolas* presented by the said *Sieur de Poutrincourt* in the name of *Monsieur* his nephew, was named *Philippa*.

15. The eldest daughter of the aforesaid *Nicolas* presented by the said *Sieur* in the name of *Mme. de Belloy* his niece, and named *Louise* after her name.

16. The youngest daughter of the said *Nicolas* presented by the said *Sieur* for *Jacques de Salazar* his son, was named *Jacqueline*.

17. The other wife of the said *Nicolas*, presented by the said *Sieur de Poutrincourt* in the name of *Mme. de Dampierre*.

18. One of the wives of the said Louis, presented by *M. de Ioni* for *Mme. de Sigogne*, and named after her name.

19. The wife of the said *Paul* was named *Rénée*, after the name of *Mme. d'Ardanville*.

20. The sixth daughter of the said Louis, presented by *René Maheu*, was named *Charlotte* after his mother.

21. A niece of the said *Henry*, presented by the said *Sieur Robin*, was named *Anne*.

Nevertheless it must be admitted that it is to sagacity and not to pretense that the said *Sieur de Poutrincourt* owes his progress in this enterprise from which *Christendom* derives

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these first fruits of the offering of these lost souls made to God, souls whom he has gathered and guided into the way of life. While fortunes were dubious it was by no means expedient to stamp the mark of the Christian upon the foreheads of these infidels, for fear that when departure removed constraint they would return to their vomit again to the disgrace of God's name. But since the said *Sieur* has given this evidence of his good disposition and of his wish to live and die among these people, it appears that he can scarcely avoid treating them like the little children whom we baptize into the faith of their god-fathers and godmothers.

Membertou, first sachem of those regions, spurred by a religious zeal unmixed with any knowledge, says that he will war against all who refuse to become Christians, which must be taken in good part from him tho it would be condemned in another. For it is certain that Religion should never be forced and by this method one will never make a true convert to Christianity.¹ The method has been condemned by all those who have brought a somewhat ripe judgment to bear upon this matter. Our Lord did not lead men to believe his Gospel by the sword (this is characteristic of Mohammed), but rather by the word. The laws of the ancient Christian Emperors are explicit on this point. And although Julian the Apostate was a great enemy of the Christians he would not force them at all to offer sacrifice to the false Gods as we can gather from his letters. I know that St. Augustine has sometimes been of a contrary opinion, but when he reflected seriously he retracted. And we are likewise told by Sulpitius Severus² that by the persuasion of St. Martin the Emperor Maximus revoked an edict against the Donatists.

The best way to attract the peoples of whom we speak is to give them bread, to bring them together, to teach to them

¹ "Religionis non est cogere religionem, quae sponte suscipi debeat, non vi." Tertul. *Ad Scapulam*.

² *Voy le c. Vides 23, qu. 6.*

Christian doctrine and the arts. This cannot be done all at once. Men of today are no more adequate than were the Apostles, but I would not load their minds with so many things which are the result of merely human institutions, seeing that our Lord has said: "My Yoke is easy and my burden is light." The Apostles have left to simple folk the Creed for faith, and the Pater Noster for prayer, the whole first of all to be understood, so as not to believe and to pray for something one does not know. Higher things are for the more learned; for those who wish to fit themselves to instruct others. This is said by way of counsel and advice to those who will rear the first colonies; considering that it is not less permissible to say it by writing than to say it by word of mouth if I were present.

The pastor who performed this masterpiece of Christian piety is Messire Jessé Fleché, a priest of the Diocese of Langris and a man of good life and good education, sent by the Nuncio, Roberto Ubaldino, altho to my mind the mandate of a Bishop of France would have been as good as that of a foreign bishop. The Nuncio granted to him by his letters-patent (which I have extracted from the original) permission to hear the confessions of all persons and to absolve them from all sins and crimes not expressly reserved for the Apostolic See, and to impose penance according to the gravity of the sin. Besides he was given power to consecrate and bless chasubles and other sacerdotal vestments and altar-cloths, excepting the corporals, chalices and patens. This is in brief the power contained in his instructions.

Chapter IX.

Sieur de Poutrincourt's danger. Christian zeal of the Savages. Remarks concerning the favor of God in connection with the undertaking in New France.

After the completion of this spiritual transformation, the Sieur de Poutrincourt thought of sending his son back to

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France for a new load of provisions and merchandise suitable to trade with the Savages. For this purpose he left on July the eighth, sixteen hundred and ten. He was commanded to be back in four months. His father conducted him to the port of La Hève, one hundred leagues or thereabouts distant from Port Royal. On his return thither he was surprised by a land-wind near Cape Fourchu, and was carried so far out to sea that for six days he saw nothing but sky and water, had nothing to eat except some birds previously captured in some islands, and without any other fresh water except what could be gathered falling from the air into the sails of the vessel in which he was. Finally by his industry and good sense he arrived near the coast of the island of Saint-Croix where Oagimont, chief of the district, succored him with some thin biscuits. From there he crossed to Port Royal, arriving there five weeks after his departure, to the joy of his people who were already despairing of his coming and were planning a change which could only prove disastrous.

Several savages, hearing what had happened on the feast of St. John the Baptist, came also to receive holy baptism. They were baptized and several others later, but perhaps too soon and too zealously. For while it was fitting to baptize Membertou and his family that dwelt at Port Royal, there is not the same reason for the others who lived far from them, and who have no pastor to make them live up to their duty. But what might the Sieur de Poutrincourt have done in the matter? He was importuned by the savages who would feel scorned if denied their request. Their zeal was such that a very thin person, only skin and bones, sought in three cabins for the Patriarch (the name they applied to the pastor). This man wished to be instructed and baptized.

Another man, living near St. Mary's Bay, more than twelve leagues distant, being sick sent urgent word to the said Patriarch. He told him of his illness and how, not wishing to die

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without being a Christian, he desired to be baptized. This was done.

Another named formerly Aconanis, now called Loth, who was sick, sent his son twenty leagues, to commend himself urgently to the prayers of the church, and to say that if he died he wished to be buried with the Christians.

One day the Sieur de Poutrincourt was returning from the cutting-up of a stag killed by Louis, son of Henri Membertou. As they were rowing on the water near Port Royal, it happened that the wife of the said Louis gave birth to a child. The Indians seeing that the child was weakly cried out "Tagaria, Tagaria," "Come along, come along." They went with the Indians and the child was baptized.

Let this be told among other things to bear witness to the zeal of this poor people, not (I admit) sufficiently instructed on religious points, but more worthy of possessing the kingdom of heaven than those who know much and who are guilty of evil deeds. In respect to them they believe and zealously guard what we say to them, and on our side we see only infidelity rife among men. Therefore if we reproach them for their ignorance, we must reproach the greater part of our people who are only Christians in name. In short I will cite here a Latin phrase of Saint Augustine, "*Surgunt indocti et raptunt coelos, nos cum scientia nostra mergimur in infernum.*"

I will add an account of the simplicity of a Neophyte, named Martin of the port La Hève. He was ill of the illness of which he died and when told about celestial Paradise asked if there were as good tarts there as those that had been given to him. He was told that better things were there and that he would be happy. A few days later he died and as he had requested was buried with the Christians, not without a struggle, for the Savages wished to bury him with his ancestors.

I would have recorded here the names of those in France

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who had the honor of having god-sons and god-daughters over there, and in whose favor they gave names (in sooth their own) to more than a hundred baptized Indians. However, they did not show themselves worthy of this. Only one of them was touched with charitable pity toward them.

However God has shown by different indications that he wishes to favor this undertaking. But, as the proverb says that he sends us everything by toil and suffering, so he wishes that through labor and patience this country should be inhabited.

It is worthy of note that not a single vessel was lost in this affair. It is true that the French suffered from unknown maladies in times of plenty, but in times of famine God has caused this scourge to cease. There were many obstacles and strange enmities in the way of the explorers, but they are still alive. In times of stress (about which I will speak later) God caused us to find roots which are today the delight of many tables in France, and which some people in Paris ignorantly call *Toupinamboux*, and others more accurately, Canada (for they come from thence), and I believe that they are the *Afro-diles* of which I shall speak hereafter in the chapter entitled "*De la Terre*" (in Book VI).

It has been noticed above that Master Nicolas Aubri was lost in the woods and was found only on the sixteenth day. Toward the end of spring, in the year 1610, the sons of Membertou, having made a long expedition for the purpose of hunting, it happened that the aforesaid Membertou was oppressed by hunger. In this trouble he remembered that he had at other times heard our people say that God, who gave food to the birds of the air and beasts of the field, would never abandon those that put their trust in him. Thereupon he began to offer prayers, and sent his daughter to the brook by the mill. He had not been engaged long in this duty when his daughter called to him, crying in a loud voice, "*Nouchich! Beggin pech' kmok, beggin pech' kmok,*" "Father, the her-

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ring have come, the herring have come!" There was abundance to eat. I have seen two men, who were always sick and rheumatic in France, who here have never felt any aches or pains. I should take too much time if I tried to describe minutely everything which could be related about this subject, or at least concerning the least miracle among those which Father Biard declared to be performed in places where he went to visit sick people. Nevertheless I prefer to attribute some merit to nature, which continually plays with us, causing us to see her wonders which appear in countless guises as well among things inanimate as in the curing of our bodies, which we often see restored to health when physicians have given us up and the hope of recovery has been entirely abandoned.¹

Chapter X.

Concerning the Reports of the Baptism of the Savages. The Jesuits offer themselves for New France. Embarrassment. Delay leading to the Ruin of Poutrincourt. Organization of Jesuits for Trade. The Church is within the State. Icebergs of fresh water in the Sea. Justice of Poutrincourt. Disagreement of the Jesuits with Poutrincourt. Polygamy.

We have previously left the son of the *Sieur de Poutrincourt* (whom we will from this time on call the *Sieur de Biencourt*) at the harbor of *La Hève*. Let us observe now the result of his voyage. As soon as he reached the bank of *Newfoundland*, he heard of the death of the King. This news threw him in great anguish of spirit since he knew France would fall into great distress and confusion. He had no means of knowing the circumstances of the murder, although certain credulous Englishmen accused the Jesuits of the crime. It was wonderful that in so great a calamity France had remained so calm, and at

¹ A marginal note reads "*Nature fait tous losiours des miracles.*" This evidently should read, "*Nature fait tous les jours des miracles,*" or "*Nature performs miracles every day.*"

the same time the plan for the siege of Juliers was still pursued. Now in order that we may not travel too far from our subject, the aforesaid Biencourt obtained an audience from the Queen Regent. She was much pleased to hear that which had been accomplished for the spiritual benefit of the savages.

At this juncture the Jesuits at the court saw a convenient opportunity to entangle him in difficulties.¹ They did not lose the chance, saying that the deceased Monarch had promised to send some of their people out here with 2000£. per annum.

And in truth long before a certain man named du Jarric of Bordeaux had written so. The Queen, acquiescing in this, strongly recommended (as did Madame de Guercheville) to the Sieur de Poutrincourt those who were intended for that purpose, to wit: Father Pierre Biard and Father Enemond Massé. They will forgive me if I repeat here what I said to them then, and what the said Sieur de Poutrincourt had told them before, that it was not yet time and they ought not to be in such haste to go there where they would see nought but solitude, where they would have to live in a manner different and unbearable to men of their sort, so that their work would be more valuable over here (*i.e., in France*).

However, actuated either by zeal or by eagerness to see and know all and to establish themselves everywhere, they persisted in their opinion and managed so well with the said Biencourt then about eighteen years old, that they were given a rendezvous at Dieppe for the twenty-fourth of October.

The Sieur de Poutrincourt, having suffered severe losses as we have before seen, and not being able by himself to carry on the undertaking, had associated himself with two honorable merchants of this said city of Dieppe, Dulardin and Du Quene. At the time set, the ship was almost ready to set sail for New France with the purpose of assisting the said Poutrincourt. But he and his company had plenty of time for

¹ *Lit.*, "to catch him by the hair."

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waiting and to kick their heels¹ until the end of June. The reason for this follows.

When the above mentioned merchants saw the Jesuits about to board their vessel with their outfit (which was far removed from their own desires) they did not wish to allow them to come on board, saying that the King's death was too recent, that they did not wish to assist in establishing a settlement that would be consecrated to the Spaniard, and that they could not trust their property in the company of these people. They offered, nevertheless, to receive all the other sorts of orders, Capuchins, Cordeliers, Recollets, etc., but not the Jesuits, unless the Queen wished to send them all yonder together; otherwise they wanted their money back.

Thereupon there are complaints to her Majesty on this subject who wrote to the Sieur de Cigogne, Governor of Dieppe. However the merchants do not yield, they rather persist in demanding the repayment of their cash. Three months are spent in negotiations. Finally the Queen orders two thousand crowns for the said payment. This was a splendid opportunity to take up collections in the households of devout princesses and ladies at Paris, Rouen and elsewhere. This was done with a result that made it possible to perfect the undertaking. However the priests only used four thousand livres for their purpose, by means of which they dislodged the said merchants and took over their association in order to participate in the profits and emoluments of the voyage. The contract was drawn up and signed, January 20, 1611, before le Vasseur, notary of Dieppe, and Bensé, his assistant. It reads as follows:

"To all those who will see or hear these presents, Daniel de Gerenteville, burgher and sheriff of the city of Dieppe, and guard of the seal under the Viscounty of the said place, for the noble and omnipotent lord, Monseigneur, the reverend and

¹ *Lit.*, "to pick their teeth."

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illustrious François de Joyeuse, with divine sanction Cardinal of the Holy Apostolic See, Archbishop of Rouen, Primate of Normandy, Count and Seigneur of the said Dieppe by right of his Majesty the King, greeting:

“Drawn up before Thomas le Vasseur, Notary at the said Dieppe, and René Bensé his assistant, in the presence of Thomas Robin, Esquire, lord of Collognes, living in the city of Paris, and Charles de Biencourt, Esquire, lord of St. Just, at present residing in this city of Dieppe, who voluntarily and without force have associated with them the venerable Father Pierre Biard, superior of the Mission of New France, and Father Enemond Massé of the Company of Jesus, for half of the merchandise, victuals and prepayments, and in general of the whole cargo of the vessel named “La Grace de Dieu,” belonging to the said Sieur de Biencourt, at present in the port and harbor of the said city, ready to set sail at the earliest convenient time that it will please God to appoint for the said land and country of New France. The whole cargo has been found, by account, audit and calculation which the said parties have stated that they have mutually made and upon which they are in agreement, to amount to the sum of seven thousand six hundred pounds, barring error in audit and calculation.

“The present association is made on the basis of the sum of three thousand eight hundred pounds, the receipt of which the said Sieur de Biencourt and Sieur Robin have acknowledged in advance, for the said half in the said cargo of the said vessel, from the said Fathers Biard and Massé, jointly for themselves and the company, with which the said Sieurs Robin and de Biencourt were content, and by means of which they have accorded and consented that the said Fathers Biard and Massé, in their own name and in that of the company, shall enjoy and have for their profit half of all the merchandise, profits and other things, circumstances and perquisites that may come from the trade that will be carried on in the said country of

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New France. And in addition the said Sieurs Robin and de Biencourt have acknowledged and confessed to have received from the said Father Biard and Massé in their names and under the said circumstances, the sum of seven thousand and thirty-seven pounds, a free loan which they acknowledge to have been made by the said Sieurs Biard and Massé in the said manner, which sum of seven thousand and thirty-seven pounds the Sieurs Robin and de Biencourt obligate themselves to pay and return to the said Sieurs Biard and Massé, or to others having authority from them, in the said city of Paris or in Rouen, on the return from the said voyage. And the said Sieur de Biencourt on his part has acknowledged and confessed to have been paid by the said Fathers Biard and Massé and Sieur Robin the sum of twelve hundred and twenty-five pounds for the refitting of the said vessel, *La Grace de Dieu*, the said Sieur de Biencourt promising to pay the sum of twelve hundred and twenty-five pounds on the return of the said vessel from the said voyage to New France, or the said sum rebated and diminished by the freight of the said vessel which is the sum of one thousand pounds, and the remainder amounting to two hundred and twenty-five pounds will be paid by the said Sieur de Biencourt on the said return, according to agreement. For the accomplishing of which the said parties are obligated each for his own part and for his property now and in the future, swearing never to rescind this action: these agreements are made in conformity with the Edict. In witness whereof, we, at the instance of the said Notary and his assistant, have affixed our seal to this agreement. This was signed, sealed and delivered at the said Dieppe in the house called, "*La Barbe d'Or*," Thursday afternoon, January twentieth, the year of our Lord 1611. Present at this proceeding the honorable man, Jacques Baudouin, Merchant, living at the said place, Dieppe, and Abraham Ruant, sailor, of the said Dieppe, witnesses, who signed at the same time as the gentlemen who drew up the

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contract, the notary and his assistant; in accordance with the law, signed and sealed by Vasseur and Béné.

Several have criticised and spoken of this contract to the discredit of the Jesuits. Whether good or bad I have nothing to say.

We do not see for what purpose the rest of the alms were employed. It is certain that it was not for this affair. For, if the judgment of Brutus was enforced which (according to Aulus Gellius¹) condemned anyone who used a beast of burden for a purpose other than the one stated on taking it, the fathers who received the said alms would be in the wrong. Certainly such ways are all the more blameworthy because they remove the inclination to do good and to aid in this undertaking from those who would otherwise be disposed towards it. This is the reason why if anything ought to be given, it ought to be given to Poutrincourt and not to the Jesuit who cannot get along without him (*i.e.*, Poutrincourt). I mean that it was necessary first to assist in establishing the state without which the church could not exist, just as an old bishop² said, "The Church is in the State and not the State in the Church."

The vessel equipped, they put to sea, January twenty-sixth. An incredible number of contrary winds sprang up in that season. Having passed the great banks of the codfishery our people encountered bergs of ice high as mountains, more than fifty leagues in extent, which are thought to be discharged from the great river of Canada into the sea, and not all to come from the Arctic Sea as one might imagine. For the long voyage, having exhausted the fresh water of the vessel, it was necessary to try the experiment (*sc.*, of melting ice for drinking water).

The Holy Spirit, The Comforter of the afflicted, finally led the Sieur de Biencourt to Port Royal on Pentecost Day.

¹ Aulus Gellius, lib. 7, ch. 15. "Idque Brutum solitum dicere, furti damnatum esse qui jumentum aliorum duxerat quàm quo utendum acceperat. Idem Pomponius ind. qui re sibi commodata. D. de furs."

² Optatus Milevit.

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Solemn thanks were given to God for this. However the journey was useless and ruinous because of their failing to come as they had been ordered. The savages (who take no thought for the morrow), needing provisions during the winter—for then they can not fish, and hunting is difficult for them when the season is too mild—had eaten a part of their peltry and almost all that remained had been traded with the Malouins and Rochelois, who had arrived long before in these coasts.

Such a long voyage had exhausted a large quantity of provisions, and now there was no longer a question of employing the surplus in the beaver trade. And nevertheless it was necessary to make some money to pay the wages of the sailors and to return¹ to the rescue. For this reason they exchanged as little provisions as possible. However the Sieur de Poutrincourt, informed by the savages that the above mentioned Rochelois and Malouins were at the Etechemins in a port called La Pierre Blanche, went there partly to regain some provisions and (recalling the preceding year) partly to do justice to the said savages in respect to the complaint that a man from Honfleur had pillaged them and killed one of their women, and that another had stolen one of their young girls. A judicial inquiry against the latter is begun. Proceedings are instituted and carried through against him, but not against the other, who was not found. Father Biard excessively and importunately acts as mediator for the prisoner. So well did he plead that on some considerations he obtained his pardon.

This was followed however by a polite remonstrance from Poutrincourt to the said Biard: "*Father,*" said Poutrincourt, *I beg of you to let me perform my task. I know how to do it very well and I hope to go to Paradise by my sword just as well as you with your prayer book. Show me the road to Heaven, and I will lead you well on earth.*"

¹ *I.e.*, to France again for more supplies.

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From this we see that the Jesuits and their captain were on bad terms. The cause of which is attributed to the fact that they wished to undertake too much, and to interfere in too many things that it would take too long to particularize, and with which the said Sieur de Poutrincourt could not put up. This has always continued since that time, and has brought great ruin to this enterprise, as will be seen by the sequel of this history.

And this ill-omened antipathy arose not only between the Jesuits and the French, but also between the Jesuits and the baptized savages, who had, because of their natural liberty, the custom of polygamy, that is, of having several wives, just as in the first centuries of the birth and renaissance of the world; the Jesuits wished to reduce them at once to monogamy, *i.e.*, to the society of one woman, something which could not be accomplished without many scandals among these people, as it actually happened, for the savages, seeing that they were commanded to leave their wives, said that the Jesuits were wicked people instead of forming a good opinion of them. This affair required the prudence that our Saviour recommended and commanded to his apostles in such wise that the desired result might come gradually, or else things should be left as they were with the same tolerance that God showed the ancient fathers, among whom polygamy is neither blamed nor regarded as a vice, nor is the permission that we see in the law of nature and in the written law especially revoked in the Evangelical law. I have sometimes in a moment of leisure written on this subject in favor of polygamy. I could not find anybody who was able to give a valid response; not that I am anxious about that, but I am anxious to defend in my whimsical manner the honest liberty of nature, which in so many centuries has been approved by everybody except in the Roman Empire, in which the majority of the apostles having exercised their ministry, have easily adjusted themselves to the civil and political law under which they lived.

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Chapter XI.

Return of Poutrincourt to France. Mistrust concerning the Jesuits. Biencourt Vice-Admiral. Rebellion. Death of the great Membertou. A Jesuit attempts in vain to live like a Savage. Amusing precautions of a savage. Partnership of the lady of Guercheville with Poutrincourt. At the instigation of the Jesuits she takes possession of all the land, and takes the Jesuits for governors.

We have said above that the length of the last voyage had consumed much food, and that there was need of returning to France without much profit, so as to get a fresh supply. The *Sieur de Poutrincourt* took charge of this trip, leaving his son the government on the other side of the ocean. There were then (it was the month of August) several ships on the coast of the *Etechemins*, to wit: Captain *Plastrier* of *Dieppe* at the *Saint Croix River*, and at the *River Saint John*, *Robert Gravé*, son of Captain *Dupont* of *Honfleur*, and a man named the *Chevalier de Saint Malo*. Father *Biard*, whom people mistrusted, finding himself at *Port Royal*, demanded that they go and find the said *Dupont* so as to learn the language of the country, and translate into it the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Apostles' Creed*, and prepare some catechism for the instruction of the *Savages*. Which the *Sieur de Biencourt* did not wish to do, because of his suspicion that the *Jesuit* was contriving some scheme to oust him. But he offered to take him there himself in a few days, and even to translate anything he desired as far as the language would permit him, since the said *Dupont* was not more versed in the tongue than he himself. To which proposition the *Jesuit* did not wish to consent.

Towards the end of the month the *Sieur de Biencourt* went to the *Etechemins* so as to be recognized by the aforesaid Frenchmen in the rank of Vice-Admiral (with which he had been decorated for several years), and to collect their tolls. *Plastrier* made the required submissions, and pledged himself

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to pay one fifth of the beavers in which he traded, and to assist the said *Sieur*, complaining to the latter of the hindrances which the English offered to his trade. But the others did not do the same. For there were (as in the preceding year) rebellions and deeds of violence which I do not wish to give in detail here.

On the return from this voyage, the great Sagamore of the Savages, Membertou, died on the eighteenth of September, sixteen hundred and eleven. He received the last sacraments, and uttered many beautiful exhortations to his children concerning the concord which they should maintain among themselves and the love they should bear the *Sieur de Poutrincourt* (whom he called his brother) and his followers. And above all he charged them to love God, and to remain firm in the faith they had received, and after that he gave them his blessing. Having passed from this life, the soldiers came under arms for his body and, with the drum beating, he was buried with the Christians.

In this season while the weather yet permitted long journeys, a companion of Father Biard, named Enemond Massé, desired to go and spend several days on the Saint John River with Louis, son of the deceased Henri Membertou, thinking he would be strong enough to live as a Nomad or rather as a Savage. But he and a valet that he had taken with him, found themselves soon thin and so reduced that the Jesuit became sick and his eyes almost fixed through lack of good nourishment and equipment. The said Louis, seeing him in such a bad state, feared that he would die, and because of this said to him: "Listen, Father, I suspect that you are going to die. Then write to Biencourt and to your brother that you died of sickness, and that we have not killed you." "I shall beware of doing that," said the Jesuit, "for it is possible that after having written the letter you would kill me, and this letter would state that you had not killed me." Upon this, the

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Savage saw the point, and, beginning to laugh, "Very well," he said, "then pray Jesus that you will not die, so they will not accuse us of having killed you."

Another time Father Biard wished to accompany *Sieur de Biencourt* to the lower end of the French bay which is between *Port Royal* and the *St. John River*. They had a favorable wind going but, returning, they saw themselves in a double peril, both from the winds and lack of supplies, for they had only taken supplies enough for eight days, and they had already arrived at the fifteenth. In this extremity the Jesuit persuades the company to make a vow to our Lord and his blessed Mother that, if it pleased them to give them a propitious wind, the four savages that were with them would become Christians. The next day the wind was propitious but the savages did not become Christians.

That is what happened on the other side of the ocean while the *Sieur de Poutrincourt* worked for a new expedition on this side so as to go to the aid of his men, and especially since (as was said before) in place of advancing, he had let himself be tricked by all manner of men for four years, and had made ruinous voyages and arrived at the last extremity; the Jesuits, who were interested in the affair, made him go into partnership up to a certain amount with a lady, the *Marquise de Guercheville*. But I should prefer to listen to the rumor that they liberally spent the alms which they received for this purpose, since they had been given for such a purpose. By means of this partnership the lady acquired a good part of the territory of New France without the *Sieur's* specifying what was reserved for him, since he did not have at hand his titles which he had left in New France. On seeing this the lady was advised (*Father Biard* said that she had the power) to accept retrocession from the *Sieur de Monts* of all the rights, shares and claims that he had ever had in New France by the gift of *King Henry IV*, except only *Port Royal*, in which the said Jesuit

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said that Poutrincourt was locked and confined as if in prison. There was a fine recompense for so many losses and labors! But he did not say that the titles state that "the King gives to the said sieur Port Royal and the adjacent lands, as many and as far as they may extend." So that, if Poutrincourt has strength at hand, he will have it all.

A Jesuit named Gilbert du Thet was sent by this lady as governor of her company, and was named co-adjutor to the others over there, as though they had had a hand in the matter. And thus the boat leaves Dieppe in the end of December, under Captain l'Abbé, and arrives at Port Royal one month later, to the great contentment of those waiting, since the said Sieur de Poutrincourt remained in France.

Chapter XII.

Contentions between the Jesuits and the supporters of Poutrincourt. The Jesuits embark secretly to return to France. They are hindered from it. Biard excommunicates Biencourt and his followers. Religious exercises abandoned. Simulated Reconciliation. Seizure of Poutrincourt's ships. His own complaining letter against the Jesuits.

The coming of the said Gilbert did not cure the evil contention and misunderstanding which had appeared long before in this little company. For he wished to accuse a man named Simon Imbert of having sold wheat which belonged to the expedition at Dieppe, and having placed in the accounts two barrels more of biscuit than there had been. And this man in turn accused the Jesuit of holding several discourses while on board which painted him as a very wicked Frenchman. And Father Biard did not parry this blow in his apology, except to say that there were good and authentic proofs of the innocence of the said Gilbert at Dieppe.

He also parried very weakly the complaint of the Sieur de Biencourt who alleges that a man named Merveille had schemed

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to kill him under the pretext of the sacramental confession, having beside him in the very place where he confessed, a loaded, cocked pistol, and the hammer back. Biencourt was then on the Saint John River.

The same Father Biard passes in silence seven months of time, that is, from January to the end of August, during which time there was a memorable separation between the two factions, which makes material for history. For they say, and the *Sieur de Poutrincourt* writes, that the Jesuits after having reconnoitred the country and drawn up geographical maps of it, wished to break faith and return secretly to France in the ship of Captain l'Abbé. To effect which, they retired secretly without saying farewell. The *Sieur de Biencourt* being advised of this, he arrested the said captain (who was on land) until he should surrender to him his passengers. For he remarked prudently that perhaps they had arranged among themselves to take the ship to Spain or elsewhere, and not to Dieppe. Besides the King and the Queen Regent, his mother, had recommended them strongly to his father, and thus he could not lose sight of them. Besides, he saw no recall from their general or from anyone else. And finally that they should not leave there a flock of Christians without any religious exercises and that they should remember for what purpose they had come. Add that at their instance a good man, a priest, had returned to France, with whom everyone had been contented. The captain, seeing himself taken, asked the Jesuits to leave his ship, but after repeated entreaties they did not wish to do it, so that Father Biard sent to the said Biencourt in writing a very broad excommunication as much against him as his adherents, which is contained in the memorandum of the *Sieur de Poutrincourt* against the said Biard and Massé. On hearing which, Louis, the son of Membertou, offered to kill them, but the said Biencourt expressly forbade them doing them any injury, saying that he would be answerable to the King. Briefly

it was necessary to break down the doors and command them in the name of the King and the said *Sieur de Biencourt* to disembark and come to speak to him. To which *Biard* answered that he would not do it, and recognized *Biencourt* only as a thief (the official minute reads thus) and excommunicated all those who should lay a hand on him. I am willing to believe that anger made him speak thus and to say many other things; for when he was appeased he landed, seeing that he must submit. But it was more than three months before there was any service or public act of religion.

Finally the day after *St. John the Baptist's Day* *Biard*, looking farther ahead, came to ask for peace and reconciliation, begging pardon in a long discourse for all that had happened and praying that it be forgotten. This having been done, he said the Mass, and at Vespers begged the said *Sieur* to permit *Gilbert* to go to France in some ships which were at the *Etechemins* (since *l'Abbé* had left in the month of March); which being accorded him, he wrote a letter to the *Sieur de Poutrincourt* full of praises of his son in terms of extreme politeness and humility. But already when *l'Abbé* had scarcely arrived at *Dieppe*, the *Jesuits* of *Rouen* and *Eu* had everything in the ship seized in the name of the said lady, the *Marquise of Guercheville*, and the proceeds were expended in goings and comings and in costs of justice. So that the poor gentleman was left destitute, from which followed a sickness which almost killed him. However, when the winter came, he had no means of sending fresh aid to those who were on the other side of the ocean in great distress,—forced to go and search for acorns so as to live, in doing which they found roots which were very good to eat and of which I shall speak in the chapter headed "*The Land.*"¹ Afterwards spring came and brought them fish in abundance.

¹ Book VI.

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So as to understand what followed the aforesaid seizure of goods, it is well to indicate what the said *Sieur* wrote to me in a letter dated at Paris on the fifteenth of May, sixteen hundred and thirteen, when I was in Switzerland, for Father Biard makes no mention of it, although he is very exact in replying to the memorandum published against him and his associates.

"When I wished," he says, "to have the excommunication declared an outrage, Father Coton has me hunted up by a man named Saulsay with a view to renew friendship and to rescue our men. I agree willingly because of the straits they were in. They put me in touch with a merchant to whom my wife and myself bonded ourselves to the extent of seven hundred and fifty pounds. They supposed the Marquise to have given as much by a writing signed in her hand. The said Du Saulsay takes the money and obligates himself to make the voyage, but when he was ready to depart behold Gilbert arrives who changes the whole business, so that Du Saulsay was countermanded, the rescue abandoned, and my money lost. Seeing myself thus treated, I have Father Coton summoned to the Chatelet as representing the said Du Saulsay, and called upon either to return me my money, or fulfil the obligation. He said that he did not know this Du Saulsay. Nevertheless he is their lieutenant general in the enterprise under the name of the said Marquise. I was personally condemned to pay the Merchant. When I was having my ship repaired at Dieppe they caused me to be arrested. These tedious mishaps have detained me a great deal. But afterwards God permitted my ship to arrive at La Rochelle, where Messieurs George and Macquin have placed on board what was lacking, and at the beginning of this month it made the voyage. May God guide it. I do what I can to free myself of the miseries attending me over here. Monsieur le Prince has taken up the New France business apart from what has been granted to me, etc."

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Chapter XIII.

Embarking of the Jesuits to go to take possession of New France. Their arrival. Disputes among them. They are attacked, captured, pillaged, and carried off by the English. A Jesuit killed with two others. Cowardice of Captain. Kindness of the savages. Return of the English to Virginia with their booty—and the Jesuits. And return of the English with the Jesuits to the coast of New France.

This is the result of the reconciliation mentioned before; it did not last. For it appears to a good intelligent person that the Fathers, after having reconnoitred the land, wished to have a piece of the cake and to reign under the name borrowed from a lady. Therefore they embarked at the time that they held the *Sieur de Poutrincourt* under arrest in order to go to the other side to take possession of the said land in his neighborhood. With which purpose they brought together a goodly number of men and received large alms.

The Queen (says Father Biard) had granted them four tents or pavilions of the King and munitions of war. He does not tell, perhaps, all. Others had helped to furnish more, and thus well equipped they departed from Honfleur, the 12th of March, 1613. Arriving at la Hève they erected there a Cross, and affixed the arms of the said lady as a sign of the taking of possession. Then they came to Port Royal where they found only two men (for the *Sieur de Biencourt* had gone on an exploring trip with his men) and the two Jesuits, Biard and Massé, whom they received in their boat to accompany them to the place where they were going to found their colony, namely at Pemptegoet, otherwise called the river of Norom-begue, where disputes arose from the beginning, which proved the fore-runners of their defeat and ruin, in which it seems they there experienced some result of the judgment of God who cannot have approved of that enterprise after so many wrongs done to the *Sieur de Poutrincourt*. For they had no

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sooner arrived when some savages warned some Englishmen from Virginia who were on the coast, who, coming to see who these people were, whether friends or enemies, Gilbert du Thet, the Jesuit, is said to have cried, "To arms, to arms! these are English," and thereupon discharged the cannon, an act which was responded to so vigorously and in such a manner that the English, after having killed three (in whose number was the same Gilbert) and wounded five, took possession of the ship which they plundered entirely; then coming on land acted in the same way, meeting with no resistance: For Capt. du Saulsay had in cowardly fashion fled to the woods with fourteen of his men; and the pilot, Isaac Bailleul, had also retired back of an island with fourteen others, awaiting the issue of the encounter. The rest were either dead or prisoners. On the next day, coming under a safe conduct, du Saulsay is asked for his commissions and ships' papers and as he did not have these to show they infer him to be a pirate and a freebooter, and in consequence of this they distribute the booty among the soldiers. The English Captain was called Samuel Argall, and his lieutenant, William Turnel, who not wishing to burden themselves with so many men retained only the Jesuits, the sea-Captain Charles Fleuri of Abbeville, a man called la Motte and a dozen workmen, sending away the rest in a sloop with but little provisions to look for fortune where they could. By a piece of unexpected good fortune the men in this boat encountered among the islands the pilot Bailleul with fourteen of their companions and went with great difficulty along the coast to the island of Menane which is between Port Royal and the Sainte-Croix islands, the first dwelling place of our French. From there traversing French Bay, they reached the Long Island where they pilfered a store of salt belonging to the Sieur de Poutrincourt, which helped them in preparing a supply of fish. Then traversing the bay of Sainte-Marie they came to Forked Cape, where Louis, son of Membertou, gave

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them a "tabagie," that is, a feast of a stag or elk. Farther on towards the Port du Mouton, they encounter four boat-crews of savages who generously gave to each of them half of a thin biscuit, which is quite a good deal, and in this act is seen a marvellous charity on the part of these people, which came just in the nick of time to those poor men who had not eaten bread for three weeks. These savages notified them that not far from there were two French ships from Saint-Malo, in which they went back to France. The English however journeyed back to Virginia with their plunder, and having arrived there, Father Biard says that the name of Jesuit was so odious that the people spoke only of gallows and of hanging them, each and every one of them. Captain Argall opposed this because he had given them his safe conduct. But the same authority says that a council was held, and it was resolved to send the three afore-mentioned vessels to run up the coast to demolish all the French posts and to put to the sword all that should offer resistance, pardoning, however, those who voluntarily gave themselves up, whom they would send back to France. Argall was in the "English Capitainesse" and with him Capt. Fleuri and four other Frenchmen. Turnel was with the Jesuits in the captured ship. The barque afore-mentioned followed also.

Chapter XIV.

Robbery of the English. Letter from the Sieur de Poutrincourt telling of what happened. Conjectures against Jesuits. Complaint of Poutrincourt. Extract from a petition against the Jesuits by the Chinese. English returning to Virginia, dispersed in various ways. The Jesuit ship carried by contrary winds to Europe.

The English returned from this expedition first to Pentagoet, where they burned the fortifications commenced by the Jesuits and instead of their Cross erected one, bearing carved upon it the name of the King of Great Britain. They did like-

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wise at Isle Sainte-Croix, whence they crossed over to Port Royal and having found no one there (for the *Sieur de Bien-court*, not suspecting any enemies, had gone to sea and part of his men were ploughing two leagues away from the Fort) they had a fine time stealing everything that was there. They neglected nothing, stealing the cattle which were outside, horses, cows, and swine; then they burned the dwelling and by dint of pickaxes and chisels they effaced the fleur-de-lis, and the names of the *Sieurs de Monts* and de *Poutrincourt* carved in a rock near this dwelling. Father *Biard* writes that he fell on his knees twice before *Argall*, praying that he would have pity on the poor French people who were there, and would allow them a sloop and some provisions with which to pass the winter. Item, he says that the English wished him ill for not being willing to show them the Island of Sainte-Croix nor to lead them to Port Royal: but rather that a Sagamore of the savages had to be pursued and caught, who did this service.

But the *Sieur de Poutrincourt* described this affair differently in a letter which I received from him the year following, 1614, I being still in Switzerland.

“You have heard,” he said, “how these people, envious and covetous of ruling, formed a cabal to carry out their evil designs against my son and me. God has avenged me with their ruin, but not without my suffering some trouble.

“Having arrived there as I did in the month of May, 1614, I found our dwelling burned, our arms and those of the King shattered, all our cattle carried off, but our mill saved because they could not land there on account of the shallow sea and many of our men were tilling, to whom *Biard*, one of the cleverest of his order, spoke, wishing to persuade them to retire with the English: saying that these were good people: what did they want to do with their Captain (speaking of my son), devoid of means, with whom they were compelled to live like

beasts. To which a certain La France replied: 'Retire, or I will cut off your neck with this axe,' *id est*, 'Vade retrorsum, Satana.' At that moment my son, who was over towards the Long Island, having been warned by the savages, arrives and offers to fight singly on even terms. But instead of this the English Captain asked to speak to him in private. This was accorded him and, having come on shore again he related how, my son being a 'Gentilhomme,' he regretted what had taken place; but that these perverse people had in Virginia incited their general¹ to send and have this unfortunate act accomplished, having made him believe that we had taken an English ship (which was false), that I would come with thirty cannons to fortify myself at Port Royal and that it would be impossible afterwards to take us, that if they permitted us to do so, France being full of people, there would come there such quantities of them that they could oust the English from Virginia; but that at present the Sieur de Biencourt was weak and would prefer to die rather than see them get the better of him;² that if he were killed there, or inconvenienced as regards provisions, he and his people would die of hunger: that the father would lose all courage and would not be successful in his enterprise. Remember the history of Laudonnière, in whose voyage those who wished to separate themselves brought the Spaniards on them. If you knew all the particulars, there would be plenty with which to swell your history. Adieu, my dear friend." . .

I do not wish to meddle with a judgment of these contradictory reports, but through the discourse of Father Biard there is reason to believe that he has been the director of the English in these things. For to what purpose did they take him there, only to return afterwards to Virginia, there where (he says) Argall expected to kill him, thus winning praise for fidelity to

¹ *I.e.*, the Governor of Virginia.

² "S'ilz ne venoient à bout de lui," corrected by reading "en" for "ne."

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his office. And the reason for killing him is his unwillingness to show the English the Island of Sainte-Croix and Port Royal. It is then to be presumed that he had promised to do so. But who had told the English that there were cattle there, even swine amongst the acorns in the woods and men ploughing two leagues away, except Father Biard? Furthermore, he never told who this Sagamore was who was caught, nor where he was set back on land. And it seems to me impossible to be able to catch by force a savage who can easily out-distance us in the woods by running, and on the sea in a bark canoe.

I add to this (and Father Biard agrees with it) that the savages by no means like the English on account of the outrages that they have done to them: so that several years ago these savages killed one of their captains. Following this there has never been any appearance that a savage chief would like to render them this good office; rather would he allow himself to be cut in pieces.

But if the first plaintiff and informant is received in court to the prejudice of him who comes with counter charges, the *Sieur de Poutrincourt* will doubtless win his lawsuit in this matter. For the apology of Father Biard dates only from the year 1616, and the said *Sieur* made complaint before the Judge of the Admiralty of Guyenne, sitting at La Rochelle, July 18, 1614, of which this is the purport.

“Messire Jean de Biencourt, Chevalier *Sieur de Poutrincourt*, Baron de Saint-Just, seigneur of Port Royal and of the adjacent countries in New France, sets forth to you that on the last day of last December he set out from this city and outside the port and the harbor of the aforesaid city caused to issue a ship of seventy tons or thereabout, called ‘*La Prime de la Tremblade*,’ to set sail and to go by the direct route to Port Royal, where he arrived on the seventeenth of last March. And while there, he had learned by the report of Charles de

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Biencourt, his eldest son, Vice-Admiral and Lieutenant-general in the countries, lands and seas of all New France, that the general of some Englishmen, being in Virginia, at a distance of six score leagues, or nearly that from the aforesaid port, had sent at the persuasion of Pierre Biard, a Jesuit, to the said port, a great ship of two or three hundred tons, another of one hundred tons or about that, and a great barque with many men who had last set foot on land on the day and feast of All Saints, and guided by the said Biard, they had gone to the place where the said *Sieur de Poutrincourt* had lived and had built for the accommodation of himself and the French living there a little four-sided fort, which was found without a guard, the said *Sieur de Biencourt* having gone along the coasts with most of his people to visit the natives in order to keep them friendly: moreover at the aforesaid place there was no cause for fear, for they were not at war with anyone, and so there was no probability that at that time any strange ships would come to the harbor and dwelling place, and as for the rest of the men, they were two leagues away, ploughing the earth. And on this occasion the said English pillaged all there was in the settlement, took all the munitions that were there, and all the provisions, merchandise and other things,—demolished and took down the carpenters' and joiners' wood that they thought could be of use to them, and took them away to their ships. This done, they set fire to the remainder: And not content with this (forced on and led by this Biard) they broke with an iron mace the arms of the King, our lord, cut in a rock, together with those of the said *Sieur de Poutrincourt* and those of the *Sieur de Monts*.

“Then they went into a wood a league away from the settlement to take a number of swine which had been led there to graze and eat acorns: and thence to a prairie where they were accustomed to keep the horses, mares and colts, and took them all. Then, under the leadership of the said Biard, they were

taken to the place where the ploughing was going on, to seize those who were there. They took their sloop, not being able to take them (because they had retired to the top of a hill).

“The said Biard separated from the English and went toward the said hill to induce those who were there to leave de Biencourt and to go with himself and the said English to the land of Virginia. Since they did not wish to submit to this, he retired with the said English and embarked on one of the ships mentioned above. But before they had set sail M. de Biencourt arrived, and seeing what had happened, he went into a wood and had the Captain of the said English called, pretending that he wanted to make a treaty with him, but really in order to be able to trap him and try by this means to obtain satisfaction for the evil that he had committed. But the Captain came somewhat suspiciously and did not want to set foot on land. The said Sieur de Biencourt, seeing this, appeared, and when the said Captain said he wished to speak to him, he replied that if the captain wished to land he would come to no mishap. This done, after having mutually pledged their faith and promising not to do evil or say evil, the Captain landed again and spent nearly two hours with the said de Biencourt, in which the Captain made known the artifices which he, Biard, had made use of to induce the general of the said English to go to the above mentioned place where the said de Biencourt had stayed with his people from the day and feast of All Saints until the twenty seventh of March (For the said Sieur de Poutrincourt, his father, had gone there) without any provisions, everyone being reduced to eating roots, herbs and buds of trees. And when the ground was frozen, not being able to have herbs or roots or to go through the woods, they were obliged to go to rocks and to take the herbs growing on them, with which food some, and those from among the strongest since they had so little to nourish them, died of hunger and the others were ill and would have died too, had it not been

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for the assistance they received by the arrival of the said *Sieur de Poutrincourt*, to whom all the above has been told many different times by his son and other men with him, in the presence of those of the crew of the said ship called '*La Prime*' which he had taken there from this city in which he arrived on the ——— day of the present month. And altho he and his son had made a minute of all the above in which faith must be placed in consideration of their rank, nevertheless, he desired to present them to His Majesty and to *Monseigneur the Admiral* whose lieutenant the said *de Biencourt* is in the said countries, in order to provide for everything properly so that it will be the less possible to cast doubt upon the truth of these witnesses. And to this end the *Sieur de Poutrincourt* wanted to have the crew heard and questioned regarding the aforesaid facts, and regarding the state in which he had found the place where the settlement was at the said *Port-Royal*, according as it is recorded in the minute that he had drawn up concerning them."

"This considered—etc. To be communicated to the *Procureur du Roi* (*Attorney of the King*)—etc., on the eighteenth of July, 1614. Signed, P. Guillaudeau."

"The *Attorney of the King* does not wish to hinder, etc. The said suppliant is permitted, etc."

(Extract of a petition against the Jesuits by the Chinese.)

For if such deeds as are mentioned above are true, we can properly appropriate to this case this extract from an elegant petition presented by the Elders of the city of Canton in China, against the Jesuits, recounted by themselves in their histories in these words:¹

"Unde non immerito formidamus eos (*Jesuitas*) esse caeterorum (*Lusitanorum*) exploratores, qui secreta nostra scire adla-

¹ Nic Rigrant, lib. 1. "*De Christiana expeditione ad Sinas*," c. 22.

borent, quos post multum deinde temporis veremur ne cum rerum novarum cupidis uniti ex ipsa nostra gente grande aliquod Reipub. Sin ensi malum calamitatemque procurent, et gentem nostram per vasta maria ut pisces ac cetè dispergant. Hoc ipsum est quod libri nostri fortè prædicunt, spinas et urticas in miti solo seminastis, serpentes, draconesque in ædes vestras induxistis, etc.”

That is to say in French: “This gives us a just reason to fear that they (that is, the Jesuits) may be spies of the others (the Portuguese) by which means they are attempting to discover our secrets, and we cannot but entertain great apprehensions that in the times to come, conspiring with those who desire revolution, they will contrive some great evil and calamity to the Chinese State by means of our own nation, and, driving us from our own country, they will send us like fish wandering around in the wide sea. Perhaps this is what our books predict to us and that with which they threaten us. You have (they say) planted thorns and sown nettles in a good and fertile land, and have brought serpents and dragons into your houses, etc.”

These great exploits at Port Royal being finished, the English went away from there on the ninth of November, with the intention (says Biard) of returning to their Virginia, but the next day a tempest arose so great that it scattered the three vessels and they did not see one another again. The ship “Capitainesse” came safely to port in the said Virginia; as for the barque there was no news of it; but the ship captured from the Jesuits in which they themselves were, after having fought the winds for a long time, by common counsel took the route for the Azores to make repairs, and thence to England.

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Chapter XV.

Piety of M. de Poutrincourt. Last exploit and his death. Epitaphs in his memory.

That is the end of the transmarine trips of the brave, generous and dreaded Poutrincourt; may his memory be blessed. There are the irreproachable witnesses of his incomparable piety, the incentive which made him undertake so many great works and so many perils, for which he has been so badly rewarded. He was burning with so great a desire to see his land of New France christianized, that all his conversation and all his plans tended only to that, and for that same thing he used up his wealth. I re-read often and with pleasure mingled with regret several letters he has written to me about his travels, but particularly one confirming what I have just told, which begins thus:

“Monsieur, my departure (from France) was so abrupt that I had no means of saying Adieu to you except by message. I am extremely sorry not to have seen you, and still more sorry that you are not here (at Port Royal), you who work so well at the development of your garden and chop down wood for its ornamentation:—to help me work in the garden of God and smite the devil. For there are always some contrary souls. I have a great desire to see you outside of the tumults into which one is too often driven in France, and to be able to enjoy your good company here. Keep me in your good graces and I will keep you in those of the great Sagamore, the invincible Membertou, who is today by the Grace of God a Christian and his family also.” etc. . . .

At the time of his return to France there happened the agitation started by Monsieur the prince and his friends on account of the marriage of the King, during which he was sent for by the people of the city of Troyes, and commanded by His Majesty to take the town of Mery-sur-Seine and Chateau Thierri, where the said prince had put garrisons. He began

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then with Mery, besieged it and took it. But he was killed there in the manner which everyone knows, and he can be recognized by the following epitaphs, one of which is at Saint-Just in Champagne, where he is buried; the other has been sent to New France.

NOBILISSIMI HEROIS—POTRINCURTII.

Epitaphium.

Aeternae memoriae Herois magni Poutrincourtii qui pacatis olim Galliae bellis (in quibus praecipuam militiae laudem consequutus est) factioneque magna Enrici Magni virtute repressa, opus Christianum instaurandae Franciae novae aggressus, dum illic monstra varia debellare conatur, occasione novi tumultus Gallici à proposito avocatus, & Mericum oppidum in Tricassagro ad deditionem cogere à Principe jussus; voti compos, militaris gloriae aemulatione multis vulneribus confossus, catapultae pectori admota nefarie à Pisandro interficitur Mense Decemb. M. DC. XV. aetatis anno LVIII.

M. S. piae recordationis ergò

Heroi benemerito

L. M. V. S.

EJUSDEM HEROIS MAGNI.

*Epitaphium in Novae Franciae oris vulgatum & marmoribus
atque arboribus incisum.*

CHARA DEO SOBOLET, NEOPHYTI MEI

NOVAE FRANCIAE INCOLAE,

CHRISTICOLAE,

QUOS EGO —

ILLE EGO SUM MAGNUS SAGAMOS VESTER

POTRINCURTIUS

SUPER AETHERA NOTUS,

IN QUO OLIM SPES VESTRAE.

VOS SI FEFELLIT INVIDIA,

LUGETE

VIRTUS MEA ME PERDIDIT VOBIS

GLORIAM MEAM ALTERI DARE

NEQUIVI.

ITERUM LUGETE.

3. *The English Account of Captain Argall's attack upon the French settlements in 1613, as related in "Purchas His Pilgrimes" (Macm. ed. XIX, 212-216). Purchas refers to Lescarbot and to Sir William Alexander's "Encouragement to Colonies."* He doubtless had access to letters and reports from Virginia about this expedition.

MONSIEUR DE MONTES betaking himself to trade for Furs, Monsieur Pourtrincourt resolving to prosecute the Plantation at that place sent his sonne Biencourt to France, to bargain with some that would send them a supply, such as was requisite for establishing of that Colonie.

The first that embraced his propositions were the Jesuites, who as they have ordinarily good wits which made them the rather capable of so advantageous a project, so they were the more animated thereunto by upbraiding the lazinesse of our Clergie, to shew with what fervency they travelled to propagate the Gospell, in doing whereof (whether it be ambition or devotion that provokes them), sparing no paines, they have travelled both to the East and West Indies, and to the admired Kingdome of China. Their society in France, prevailing with all that had any inclination either to zeale or to vertue, did easily gather a voluntary contribution for the furthering of so commendable a purpose. Thereafter they sent away two Fathers of their Company, with a new supply of all things necessary to the Plantation at Port Royall, but shortly after their arrivall (their predominant disposition hardly yeelding to any superiour, especially if it be secular power) they began to contradict Pourtrincourt in the execution of those decrees which had bin given forth by him, as civill Magistrate of that place: whereupon the Gentleman extreemely discontented, and weary of contesting with them; having said that it was his part to rule them upon earth, and theirs onely to guide him the way to heaven, he re-

turned backe to France, leaving his sonne Biencourt in his place. Who being a youth at that time of more courage than circumspectnesse, disdaining to be controuled by them whom he had envited thither, and scorning their insupportable presumption, using spirituall armes for temporall ends, and an imperious kinde of carriage, who onely for spleene had excommunicated and branded him with a spirituall censure; he threatened them by his temporall power with a more palpable punishment. So that after much controversie, resolving to separate themselves, the two Jesuites taking a part of the Company with them, went from thence to a place in new England, called by them Mount Desart, where they seated themselves; and having a supply from the Queene Mother did plant sundry Fruit trees of the most delicate kinds in France, such as Apricockes and Peaches, never intending to remove from thence.

At this time Sir Samuel Argall being then Governor¹ of Virginia, coasted alongst new England to traffique and discover, or to acquire things necessary for the Southerne Colony in these parts, where the lands are reputed to be more fertile, and the Seas more frequented, & did conceive by a description made unto him by the Savages, that there were some come from this part of the World to inhabit there; and being jealous of any thing that might derogate from the honour, or prove prejudiciall to the benefit of his Nation, where their interest in this was easie to be apprehended; he went whereas he was informed that they were, and his unexpected arrivall, as it would seeme, not only amazed the mindes of the French, but likewise preventing their preparation and resolution; he approached so neere to a Ship that lay before their Fort, that hee beate them all that were therein with Musket shot from making any use of their Ordnance, save one of the two Jesuites, who was killed in giving fire to a Peece: Having taken the Ship, they landed

¹ "I have heard that Sir T. Dale was the Governor of Virginia and sent him."—*S. Purchas*.

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and went before the Fort, summoning them that were within to yeelde themselves, who at first made some difficulty, asking a time to advise; but that being refused, they privately abandoned the Fort, stealing out by some backe way into the Woods, where they staid one night, and the next day coming backe, rendered themselves to Sir Samuel Argall, who had lodged all that night within the Fort, giving up the Patent they had from the French King to be cancelled. He used them very curteously, as their owne Writers doe make mention, suffring such as had a minde to goe for France, to seeke out Fishers Ships wherein they might be transported; the rest that were willing to goe for Virginia went thither alongst with him; no man having lost his life but onely that one Jesuite, who was killed whilst they made resistance, during the time of the conflict. Thereafter Father Biard, the other of the Jesuites, comming backe from Virginia with Sir Samuell Argall, out of the indigestable malice that he had conceived against Biencourt, did informe him where he had planted himselfe, offering (as he did) to conduct him thither. As soone as they were entered within the Fort, neere the uppermost of the Ilands, Sir Samuel directed the Ship to ride at a reasonable distance to attend occasions before the Fort and did land himselfe with forty of the best of his men upon a Meddow, where immediately they heard a peece of Ordnance from the Fort, and he conceiving since it was shot whilst it could doe no harme, that it was done either but to give terrour to them, or to warne some that might happen to be abroad, did make the greater haste towards the Fort, where he presently entered, finding it abandoned without any men at all left for the defence thereof. He went up the River side five or six miles, where he saw their Barnes, and the ground where a great quantity of Wheate had grown, which he carried with him to prove for Seede in Virginia: he saw also their corne Milne very conveniently placed, which together with the Barnes he left standing untouched. As for the Fruit

it selfe he destroied it downe to the ground, racing¹ the French armes, and leaving no Monument that might remaine to witnesse their being here.

After this, Biencourt, who had been somewhere abroad travelling through the Countrey comming home, desired to conferre with Sir Samuel Argall, who did meete with him a part from the company upon a meadow: and after they had expostulated a space for what had past controverting concerning the French and English, little to these bounds, at last Biencourt offered, if hee might have a protection from him, to depend upon our King, and to draw the whole Furres of that Countrey to one Port, where he would divide them with him; as likewise hee would show him good mettalls, whereof he gave him pieces, the other refused to joyne in any societie with him, protesting that his Commission was onely to displant him, and that if hee found him thereafter hee would use him as an enemy. Biencourt labouring earnestly to have had the Jesuit, as he confessed, with a purpose to hang him. Whilest they were discoursing together, one of the Savages rushing suddenly forth from the Woods, and licentiated to come neere, did after his manner with such broken French as he had earnestly mediate a peace, wondring why they that seemed to be of one Country, should use others with such hostilitie, and that with such a forme of habit and gesture as made them both to laugh.

¹ Razing.

X.

RENEWAL OF ENGLISH ATTEMPTS AT EX- PLORATION AND SETTLEMENT, 1614- 1625.

1614-1619. The attempts of Capt. John Smith and Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

1614. Capt. John Smith's voyage to New England for London merchants.

1614. Capt. Nicholas Hobson's second voyage for Gorges.

1615. Voyages of Capt. John Smith and Thomas Dermer, for the Plymouth Company. Capt. Smith was captured by French men-of-war, and while in captivity wrote a "Description of New England."

1615. Sir Richard Hawkins wintered on the coast of Maine.

1616. Eight ships, masters unknown, some from Plymouth and some from London, came to New England. Richard Vines, servant of Gorges (?), settled at the mouth of the Saco River.

1616. Publication of Smith's "Description of New England."

1617. Capt. John Smith attempts to lead an expedition from Plymouth for settlement: unable to leave port.

1618. Capt. Edward Rocroft sailed from Plymouth for Gorges to join Capt. Dermer at Newfoundland.

1619. Capt. Thomas Dermer sailed along the coast for Gorges, and wrote an account of his voyage for Samuel Purchas.

1620. Voyage of the Pilgrims.

1620. December. Publication of Capt. John Smith's "New England's Trials," a work written for the most part in 1618.

1622. Thomas Weston's colony at Wessagussett (Weymouth).

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1623. Rev. John White and the Beginnings of the Bay Colony. Voyages of Francis West, Robert Gorges (settlement at Wessagussett) and Christopher Levett (to Casco Bay). Narrative of Christopher Levett.

1624. Capt. John Smith published the "Generall Historie of Virginia."

1625. Rev. Samuel Purchas published his "Pilgrimes," or "Hakluytus Posthumus."

1625-1630. Settlements along the coast of Massachusetts Bay. Governor John Winthrop led over the major portion of the first Bay colony in 1630. Captain John Smith in the same year wrote his "Advertisements for Unexperienced Planters,"—his last work.

I. Voyages chiefly under the auspices of the London and Plymouth Companies, 1614-1619. Narratives by Captains John Smith and Thomas Dermer.



THE year 1614 is memorable in the history of New England exploration because in that year the chief adventurer of the Jamestown Colony began his long and notable service to Northern Virginia, which he, through Prince Charles, named New England. John Smith (1580-1631) left such ample memorials, and has been the subject of so much critical investigation and discussion that an extended study of his life would be inappropriate here. He is his own best witness. His complete works may be best studied in Edward Arber's edition in two volumes, published by Archibald Con-

stable Company at Westminster in 1895.¹ He was the son of George Smith, a farmer on the estate of Lord Willoughby d'Eresby at Willoughby near Alford in Lincolnshire. John was fifteen years old when he went to France in attendance upon Master Peregrine Bertie, second son of Lord Willoughby. From that time, 1596, until 1604, he was soldier, sailor, captive, and traveler by turns, adventuring by field and flood in eastern Europe, western Asia, and northern Africa. He went as far westward as the Canary Islands, and came home with a thousand ducats in his purse.

From 1605 to 1609 he was engaged in schemes of colonization. At first his attention was turned towards South America (Works, Arber ed., II, 896). Then he joined Gosnold and the others in the Jamestown expedition in 1607. From September 10, 1608, until September, 1609, he was president of the colony. He seems to have been the only man in the company who was fit to govern it, tho it is only fair to reflect that Smith and his partisans in the colony have told their side of the story much more completely than their opponents.

In the Cottonian manuscripts in the British Museum is the fragment of a partially burned letter which was probably written to Sir F. Gorges in 1606 by Captain John Smith in order to solicit employment in a transatlantic expedition. Sir Robert Cotton was a contemporary of Sir F. Gorges. This manuscript in the

¹ The *Generall Historie*, the *Travels and Adventures*, and the *Sea Grammar* were republished in two volumes in 1907 by James MacLehose and Sons, publishers to Glasgow University.

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Museum was injured by fire in 1731. (See N. E. Hist. and General Register, for 1874, pp. 248-251.) The text of the substantial portion of the letter, with some gaps conjecturally filled, is as follows:

The ocasion of the letar to you at this tyme is [this]. I have [been] geven to understand [that] ther ys a vyage prepared for the Southe parttes yff yt be so that you thinke good of yt and that yt maye be to enye good porpos I praye to have youre fordorans in yt and yt be that youe dealle in [preparing] the saide vyage I ame att youre worship[s] comandementt otharwyse nott nor with outt youre consentt. I wyll nott go off enye vyage as yett I wolde [like to make] one vyage into the northe partes I wolde knowe youre plesure herein and that knowne I wyll make my [plans] as you wyll asyne me. Your worship shall have [sight of] me in plemouthe . . . this the . . . God preserve you.

From [B]rystowe the laste of November—Youre obeydent
[JOHN] SMYTHE.

This request may have been the cause of Smith's admission to the company that sailed for Virginia in December, 1606.

As soon as Smith was at home again he began to write the story of his adventures in Virginia. He was already the author of the story of the first six months of the Jamestown colony. This account, called "A True Relation," was published in August, 1608. Now with his own administration to defend, and a number of enemies to confound, he devoted himself to a more extended history of the Virginia colony. This was published in two parts at the Oxford University press in

1612, under the titles, (1) "A Map of Virginia, with a description of the Countrey," and (2) "The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia." The last eighteen years of John Smith's life, 1613-1631, were chiefly devoted to New England, and to the labor of writing memoirs and narratives of American colonization. Since his name is so generally associated with Jamestown only, as the principal figure in the inception of the Virginia colony, it is noteworthy that he devoted himself to the development of New England through a period three times as long as that in which he was laboring for Virginia. He tried to found a colony in New England and his last publication was intended to help the new settlement upon Massachusetts Bay. He gave the country its name and explored its coast in an open boat from the mouth of the Penobscot to Cape Cod. His map, which was a result of that trip, was filled with English names which those who followed him used, altho they took the liberty to change some of their locations. Doubtless they studied his chart carefully.

Smith speaks of his first voyage in 1614 as tho his own share in it was somewhat unexpected to himself. He says that with two ships, sent out by London merchants, he "chanced to arrive" at Monhegan in April, 1614. He had sailed from the Downs, March 3d. Forty-five men and boys were with him, and they came to look for whales and gold-mines; failing those, they would take "Fish and Furres." They were back at London in August with £1500 value in fish and

furs. Thirty-seven of them did the fishing, while Smith with eight men explored the coast and collected materials for a map and a book.

While Smith was thus occupied, Thomas Hunt, master of one of the ships, as Smith says, "dishonestly and inhumanely" kidnapped twenty-four savages, confined them on his ship which was laden with fish, and set sail for Spain. At Malaga, he sold the fish for his employers, and on his own account sold the Indians for "Rials of eight." "This vilde act," wrote Smith, "kept him (*Hunt*) ever after from any more employment in those parts."

One of these Indians was Tasquantum, or Squanto, who came home again, and, after Samoset, welcomed the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

While Smith was exploring the New England coast for London merchants, Captain Nicholas Hobson was making a second voyage to New England. His ship was fitted out by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the Earl of Southampton, and the immediate purpose of the expedition was to find mines of gold about Martha's Vineyard. Reference to the voyage is to be found in Gorges' Brief Narration (Maine Hist. Coll., Vol. II).

One of the Indians whom Waymouth had kidnapped on the Maine coast in 1605, and who was captured with Captain Henry Challons by the Spaniards in the next year, had been recovered by Sir Ferdinando Gorges. At about the same time Captain Edward Harlow brought to Gorges, Epenow, one of the savages caught by Harlow at Martha's Vineyard in 1611.

Epenow was shrewd enough to make the knight believe, or at least hope, that gold could be found at Martha's Vineyard, and so in June, 1614, Hobson set sail for those islands with Gorges and two Indians on board to show the way to the gold mines. When the ship reached Martha's Vineyard, Epenow's kinsmen rejoiced to find him within reach, and promptly arranged a successful plot for his escape from the ship. Captain Hobson's men were foolish enough to fire at the fugitive who was swimming toward the shore. The Indians returned the fire with arrows and wounded several Englishmen; and Gorges wrote, "Thus were my hopes of that particular mode void and frustrate; such are the fruits to be looked for by employing men more zealous of gain than fraught with experience how to make it."

Smith says of this voyage of Hobson: "They spent their victuals, and returned with nothing."

The commercial success of Smith's voyage seems to have convinced both the Plymouth and the London adventurers that Smith was the commander to secure. The Western company offered him an engagement for life as Admiral of New England, and promised him a fleet of four ships, to be ready by the next Christmas. Smith accepted the offer. When he came to London his friends there offered him a similar employment, which he perforce declined. The London merchants speedily fitted out four ships, which sailed in January, 1615, under Captain Michael Cooper. It was a purely commercial enterprise. Off Monhegan they fished

from March till June, and then sent one ship-load to Virginia, another to England, and another to Spain. The latter was captured by Mohammedan pirates, but altho this meant a loss of £4000 two more ships went from London to New England in the summer of 1616, and returned with profit in the following year. (Cf. Arber ed. Smith's works, I, 241.)

When Cooper's expedition was under way, Smith went to Plymouth, and found Gorges and the others so much discouraged by the utter failure of Hobson's voyage that nothing was ready. Finally instead of four ships Smith obtained two, one of two hundred tons and one of fifty. In these he set sail with Thomas Dermer as "Vice-Admiral." Upon his own ship Smith had, besides the crew, a company of five gentlemen, four soldiers, six sailors, and two boys. Within a few days Smith's ship lost all her masts and he returned to Plymouth. Dermer went on, but of the incidents of his voyage nothing is known.

Smith set sail again in June, 1615, in a "small Barke" with a company of thirty men. He says that his intention was to settle on the Maine coast near Pemaquid, near his friend the sachem "Dohannida, who had lived long in England." This is Tahaneda, one of Waymouth's captives. Smith planned to secure the permanent friendship of these Indians by defending them against their enemies the Tarratines. But Smith's ship was chased by pirates and overhauled by French men-of-war. Smith's companions left him a prisoner on one of the French ships and returned to Plymouth.

Smith escaped from the Frenchmen near Rochelle and got back to Plymouth in December, 1615. While a captive on the French ship, Smith wrote an account of his voyage to New England in the previous year. After he had returned to England and settled accounts with his cowardly comrades, he published this narrative with his new map of the coast under the following title: "A Description of New England: or the Observations and discoveries of Captain John Smith (Admirall of that Country) in the North of America, in the year of our Lord 1614: with the success of sixe Ships, that went the next year, 1615; and the accidents that befell him among the French men of warre: With the prooffe of the present benefit this Countrey affoord; whither this present yeare, 1616, eight voluntary Ships are gone to make further tryall. At London—Printed by Humfrey Lownes, for Robert Clarke; and are to be sould at his house called the Lodge, in Chancery lane, over against Lincolnes Inne, 1616."

This book was printed June, 1616, and a copy with the map must have been immediately presented to Prince Charles, and the new names suggested by him printed on an additional leaf. (See Arber ed., I, 175–232.)

While Smith was still a captive on shipboard, Gorges and his associates sent forth Sir Richard Hawkins, son of the famous John. Hawkins sailed October 15, 1615, and spent the winter probably near Pemaquid. He voyaged along the coast from New England to Virginia, whence he sailed to Spain to sell what he had collected. The title-page of Smith's "Description" lets us know

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that eight ships sailed to New England during 1616. About these nothing more is known than what Smith tells. (See "New England's Trials," Arber ed., I, 241.) They were all fishing vessels, four from Plymouth and two from London, and Smith says that one of the latter turned pirate. One of the eight ships may have been the "Nachen," whose commander, Edward Braunde, sailed from Dartmouth, March 8, 1616, and wrote a very brief account¹ of his voyage to his "worthye good frend, Captayne John Smith, admerall of New England." Braunde was at Monhegan April 20, 1616, and met Sir Richard Hawkins who seized his boats, probably regarding Braunde as a trespasser. Afterwards Braunde landed at Cape Cod, hoping for "the discovery of sertayne perell² wch is told by the Sauvages to be there." This letter by Braunde is among the Cottonian manuscripts in the British Museum.

During the winter of 1616-1617 it is possible that several of Gorges' representatives were on the New England coast, and one, Richard Vines by name, afterwards a patentee of the town of Biddeford, Maine, may have spent the winter at the mouth of the Saco River. But the narrative of Sir Ferdinando is exceedingly vague and doubtful concerning dates and definite events. Vines sent or brought home probably the first account of the plague among the Indians which depopulated the coast from the Penobscot to Narragansett. In 1617

¹ New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg., 1874, pp. 248-251. See also E. D. Neill's "The English Colonization of America during the 17th century." Strahan & Co., London, 1871, pp. 90-94.

² Pearl.

Smith was again ready to sail to found a colony for the Plymouth company. He says that he had three good ships all provided at Plymouth, but was "wind-bound" in that harbor for three months, a freak of the winds that seems almost incredible. The hope of settlement for that year being abandoned, the ships sailed to Newfoundland, but Smith did not go with them. His former associate, Thomas Dermer,¹ did go, and met there Tasquantum or Squanto, one of the Indians kidnapped by Hunt in Cape Cod Bay in 1614 and sold into slavery in Spain.

This Indian was brought to Newfoundland from Malaga in a Bristol ship, and Captain Dermer wrote about him to Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Gorges saw the opportunity to try again the experiment in which Hobson had failed with Epenow in 1614. He sent a ship early in 1618² under a Captain Rocroft³ to join forces with Captain Dermer and sail down the coast, taking Squanto home.

The Governor of Newfoundland, Captain Mason, thinking that Dermer's plans might not be approved by Gorges, had meanwhile persuaded Dermer to take the savage with him to England and consult with

¹ Thomas Dermer (Dirmer, Dearmer), whom Smith calls "an understanding and industrious Gentleman," was commander of the ship in Smith's expedition of 1615 which made the voyage to New England alone, after Smith's own vessel was disabled and put back to Plymouth.

² Smith says ("New England's Trials," Arber, I, 258) that four ships were prepared to go from Plymouth, but "by reason of disagreement" only two sailed, and that these two made profitable fishing trips, one coming back to Plymouth and the other going to Bilbao.

³ Edward Rocroft, or Rowcroft, alias Stallings, was also, like Dermer, one of Smith's company in 1615, and Rocroft had also been with Smith in Virginia. Smith calls him a valiant soldier.

Gorges. When Rocroft appeared at Newfoundland, therefore, Dermer was in England or on the way thither.

Of Rocroft's adventures during the summer of 1618, Smith and Gorges give brief details. He went to Monhegan, and found there a French bark from Dieppe engaged in the fur trade. He confiscated this ship on the ground that it was trespassing upon Gorges' rights. Gorges says that he afterwards compensated the owner for his loss, because the latter was a Huguenot.

Soon after, Rocroft discovered a plot among his men to cut his throat and seize the ship. He set the ring-leaders on shore and sailed to Virginia with his French prize. In Virginia Rocroft was killed in a quarrel and his ship was sunk.

Meanwhile Captain Dermer had seen Gorges and had exhibited his Indian. Early in 1619, Dermer and Squanto came back to New England in a fishing vessel, expecting to join Rocroft at Monhegan. Dermer found only the mutineers who had spent the winter at Monhegan, only one of them having died. From them he learned that Rocroft had gone to Virginia, and soon after he heard of Rocroft's death. In a pinnace which Rocroft had left at Monhegan Captain Dermer with Squanto as a guide explored the coast. The story of his experiences is told in the following account which was printed by Purchas.¹ It is said by John Smith that Dermer made another voyage from Virginia northward along the coast in 1620. The

¹ IV, 1778-79, 1829-30, or XIX, 129-134.

CAPTAIN THOMAS DERMER'S NARRATIVE

records of the Virginia Company under date of July 10, 1621, show that there was read to the company the relation of a voyage made "this last summer" by Mr. Dermer "from Cape Charles to Cape Codd up Delawarr River and Hudsons River, being butt 20 or 30 Leagues from our Plantacion and within our lymite, in which Rivers were found divers Ships of Amsterdam and Horne, who yearly had there a great and rich Trade for Furr^s."¹

Captain Dermer was wounded in an encounter with Indians and subsequently died in Virginia.

TO HIS WORSHIPFUL FRIEND M. SAMUEL
PURCHAS, PREACHER OF THE WORD, AT
THE CHURCH A LITTLE WITHIN LUDGATE,
LONDON.

SIR,—It was the nineteenth of May, before I was fitted for my discovery, when from Monahiggan I set sayle in an open Pinnace of five tun, for the Iland I told you of. I passed alongst the Coast where I found some antient Plantations, not long since populous, now utterly void; in other places a remnant remaines, but not free of sicknesse. Their disease the Plague, for wee might perceive the sores of some that had escaped, who described the spots of such as usually die. When I arrived at my Savages native Country (finding all dead) I travelled alongst a daies journey Westward, to a place called Nummastaquyt, where finding Inhabitants, I dispatched a messenger a dayes journey further West, to Poconaokit which bordereth on the Sea: whence came to see me two Kings, at-

¹ Records of the Virginia Company of London, edited by Susan M. Kingsbury, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1906, vol. 1, p. 504.

tended with a guard of fiftie armed men, who being well satisfied with that my Savage and I discoursed unto them (being desirous of noveltie) gave mee content in whatsoever I demanded, where I found that former relations were true. Here I redeemed a Frenchman, and afterwards another at Mastachusit, who three yeeres since escaped shipwracke at the North-east of Cape Cod. I must omit (amongst many things worthy observation) for want of leisure, therefore hence I passe (not mentioning any place where we touched in the way) to the Iland, which wee discovered the twelfth of June. Here we had good quarter with the Savages, who likewise confirmed former reports. I found seven severall places digged, sent home of the earth, with samples of other commodities elsewhere found, sounded the Coast, and the time being farre spent bare up for Monahiggan, arriuing the three and (tween)tieth of June, where wee found our ship ready to depart. To this Ile are two other neere adioyning, all which I called by the name of King James his Iles, because from thence I had the first motives to search for that (now probable passage) which may hereafter be both honourable and profitable to his Majestie. When I had dispatched with the ships ready to depart, I thus concluded for the accomplishing my businesse. In regard of the fewnesse of my men, not being able to leave behind mee a competent number for defence, and yet sufficiently furnish myselfe, I put most of my provisions aboard the Sampson of Capt. Ward ready bound for Virginia, from whence hee came, taking no more into the Pinnace then I thought might serve our turnes, determining with Gods helpe to search the Coast along, and at Virginia to supply our selves for a second discovery, if the first failed. But as the best actions are commonly hardest in effecting and are seldome without their crosses, so in this we had our share, and met with many difficulties: for wee had not sayled above forty leagues, but wee were taken with a Southerly storme, which drave us to this strait; eyther we must weather a

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rockie point of Land, or run into a broad Bay no lesse dangerous; Incidit in Syllam, etc., the Rockes wee could not weather, though wee loosed till we received much water, but at last were forced to beare up for the Bay, and run on ground a furlong off the shoare, where we had beene beaten to pieces, had wee not instantly throwne overboard our provisions to save our lives, by which meanes we escaped and brought off our Pinnace the next high water without hurt, having our Planke broken, and a small leake or two which we easily mended. Being left in this misery, having lost much bread, all our Beefe and Sider, some Meale and Apparell, with other provisions and necessaries; having now little left besides hope to encourage us to persist: Yet after a little deliberation we resolved to proceed and departed with the next faire winde. We had not now that faire quarter amongst the Savages as before, which I take it was by reason of our Savages absence, who desired (in regard of our long journey) to stay with some of our Savage friends at Sawahquatooke; ¹ for now almost every where, where they were of any strength, they sought to betray us. At Manamock ² (the Southerne part of Cape Cod, now called Sutcliffe Inlets) I was unawares taken prisoner, when they sought to kill my men, which I left to man the Pinnace; but missing of their purpose, they demanded a ransome, which had, I was as farre from libertie as before; yet it pleased God at last, after a strange manner to deliver me, with three of them into my hands, and, a little after, the chiefe Sacheum himselfe; who seeing me weigh anchor, would have leaped ouerboard, but intercepted, craved pardon, and sent for the Hatchets given for ransome, excusing himselfe by laying the fault on his neighbours; and to be friends sent for a Canoas lading of Corne, which received we set him free. I am loth to omit the story, wherein you would finde cause to admire the great mercy of God even in our greatest misery, in giving us both freedome and reliefe at one

¹ Near Nahant. ² Monomoy.

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time. Departing hence, the next place we arrived at was Cap-aock, an Iland formerly discovered by the English, where I met with Epinew a Savage that had lived in England, and speaks indifferent good English, who foure yeeres since being carried home, was reported to haue beene slaine, with divers of his Countrymen, by Saylers, which was false. With him I had much conference, who gave mee very good satisfaction in euerything almost I could demand. Time not permitting mee to search here, which I should have done for sundry things of speciall moment: the wind faire, I stood away shaping my course as the Coast led mee, till I came to the most Westerly part where the Coast began to fall away Southerly. In my way I discovered Land ¹ about thirtie leagues in length, heretofore taken for Mayne, where I feared I had been imbayed, but by the helpe of an Indian I got to the Sea againe, through many crooked and streight passages. I let passe many accidents in this journey occasioned by treacherie, where wee were compelled twice to goe together by the eares, once the Savages had great advantage of us in a streight, not above a Bowe shot, and where a multitude of Indians let flye at us from the banke, but it pleased God to make us victours: neere unto this wee found a most dangerous Catwract amongst small rockie Ilands,² occasioned by two unequall tydes, the one ebbing and flowing two houres before the other: here wee lost an Anchor by the strength of the current, but found it deepe enough: from hence were wee carried in a short space by the tydes swiftness into a great Bay (to us so appearing) but indeede is broken land, which gave us sight of the Sea; here, as I said, the Land treadeth Southerly. In this place I talked with many Salvages, who told me of two sundry passages to the great sea on the West,³ offered me Pilots, and one of them drew mee a Plot

¹ Martha's Vineyard.

² Off the Eastern end of Long Island.

³ Long Island Sound.

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with Chalke upon a Chest, whereby I found it a great Iland, parting the two Seas; they report the one scarce passable for shoalds, perillous currents, the other no question to be made of. Hauling received these directions, I hastened to the place of greatest hope, where I purposed to make triall of Gods goodnesse towards us, and use my best endeavour to bring the truth to light, but wee were onely shewed the entrance, where in seeking to passe wee were forced backe with contrary and overblowing windes, hardly escaping both with our lives. Being thus overcharged with weather, I stood amongst the coast to seeke harbours, to attend a favourable gale to recover the streight, but being a harbourlesse Coast for ought we could then perceive, wee found no succour till wee arrived betwixt Cape Charles and the Maine on the East side the Bay Chestapeak, where in a wilde Roade wee anchored; and the next day (the eight of September) crossed the Bay to Kecoughtan, where the first news strooke cold to our hearts, the general sicknesse over the Land. Here I resolved with all possible speede to returne in pursuite of this businesse, so that after a little refreshing, we recovered up the River to James Citie, and from thence to Capt. Warde his Plantacion, where immediately wee fell to hewing of Boords for a close Decke, having found it a most desired course to attempt as before. As wee were thus labouring to effect our purposes, it pleased almighty God (who onely disposeth of the times and seasons, wherein all workes shall be accomplished) to visite us with his heavie hand, so that at one time there were but two of us able to helpe the rest, myselfe so sore shaken with a burning feaver, that I was brought even unto deaths doore, but at length by Gods assistance escaped, and have now with the rest almost recovered my former strength. The Winter having overtaken us (a time on these Coasts especially) subject to gusts and fearefull storms, I have now resolved to choose a more temperate season, both for the generall good and our owne safeties. And thus I have

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sent you a broken discourse, though indeede very unwilling to have given any notice at all, till it had pleased God to have blessed mee with a thorow search, that our eyes might have witnessed the truth. I have drawne a Plot of the Coast, which I dare not yet part with for feare of danger, let this therefore serve for confirmation of your hopes, till I can better performe my promise and your desire; for what I have spoken I can produce at least mille testes;¹ farre separate, of the Sea behinde them, and of Ships, which come many dayes journey from the West, and of the extent of this Sea to the North and South, not knowing any bounds thereof Westward. I cease to trouble you till a better opportunity offer itselfe, remembring my best love, &c. I rest.

Yours to command,

THO. DERMER.

From Captaine Martyn his Plantation. 27 Decemb. 1619.

2. *John Smith's "New England's Trials," 1620-1622, and Letter to Bacon. Smith's opinion of the Pilgrims.*

After the inglorious collapse of the projected expedition in 1617, John Smith seems to have abandoned any hope of accomplishment under the auspices of Gorges and his associates. He engaged the more assiduously in writing and in labors to interest the London guilds and magnates at court in projects of colonization. He refers gingerly but not by any means warmly to his recent employers. Gorges and some of his associates were favorites at Court. Smith did venture to say: "I am not the first they have deceived." Gorges he does not mention directly, but it is not unlikely that he had

¹ A thousand proofs.

that amiable and probably inconsequent visionary in mind when he composed these sentences: "There is a great difference between the directions and judgement of experimentall knowledge and the superficiall conjecture of variable relation: wherein rumour, humour, or misprision have such power, that ofttimes one is enough to beguile twentie, but twentie not sufficient to keepe one from being deceived. . . I have had many discouragements, by the ingratitude of some, the malicious slanders of others, the falseness of friends, the treachery of cowards, and slownesse of Adventurers."¹

In the second part of the "Travells and Adventures"² Smith speaks more plainly of his experiences with the London and Plymouth companies: "Betwixt them long there was much contention: the Londoners indeed went bravely forward; but in three or foure yeares, I and my friends consumed many hundred pounds among the Plimothians; who only fed me with delayes, promises, and excuses, but no performance of any thing to any purpose." Captain Smith's purpose in writing tracts about English colonization was to produce an argument for investment which would arouse the interest of wealthy and ambitious patrons. For this purpose he had circulated his "Description" with its map, but during 1618 some scribe wrote for him in a small manuscript book the appeals which became in substance the first edition of "New England's Trials," issued in 1620. At the same time,

¹ Gen. Hist., Bk. VI., Arber ed., II, 733.

² Works, Arber, II, 891.

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1618, Smith attempted to secure the friendly interest of Lord Bacon by the following letter, which was accompanied by the written narrative. The appeal to the Lord Chancellor seems to have been unsuccessful.¹

LETTER TO LORD BACON. [State Papers, Colonial, Vol. 1, No. 42.] TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR *FRANCES BACON*, KNIGHT, BARON OF *VEROLAM* AND LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

Right Honorable, Having noe better meanes to acquaint your Lordship with my meaning than this paper, the zeale love and dutie to God, my Countrie and your honor, I humbly crave may be my apologie.

This 19 years [1599-1618] I haue encountred noe fewe dangers to learne what here I write in these fewe leaves, and though the lines they containe are more rudely phrased then is meete for the viewe of so great a judgement, their fruites I am certayne may bring both wealth and honor for a Crowne and a Kingdom to his Maiesties posterity. The profitts already returned with so small charge and facilitie according to proportion emboldens me to say it.

With a stock of 500 li. I durst venture to effect it, though more than 100000 li. hath bene spent in Virginia and the Barmudas to small purpose, about the procuring whereof many good men knowes I haue spent noe small tyme labor nor money: but all in vaine. Not with standing within these fower years [1614-1618] I haue occasioned twice 5000 li. to be employed that way. But great desyres to engross it, hath bred so many particular humors, as they have their willes, I the losse, and the generall good the wrong.

¹ Smith's Works, Arber ed., I, cxxi-cxxiii.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

Should I present it to the Biskayners, French, or Hollanders, they haue made me large offers. But nature doth binde me thus to begg at home, whome strangers haue pleased to make a Commander abroad. The busines being of such consequence, I hold it but my dutie to acquaint it to your Honor, knowing you are not only a cheife Patron of your Countrie and state, but also the greatest faviourer of all good designes and their Authors.

Noe more, but humbly beseeching your goodnes to pardon my rudenes, and ponder my plaine meaning in the ballance of goodwill, I leave the substance to the discretion of your most admired judgement, ever resting Your honors ever most truely devoted

JO. SMITH.

The little manuscript book which contained this letter and the substance of the first edition of "New England's Trials" contained also the following paragraphs which are omitted from that tract.

The worst of these 16 shippes, 2 or three of them have bene taken by Pyrates, which hath put such feare in poore fishermen, whose powers are but weake. And the desyre of gaine in Marchants so violent: every one so regarded his private, that it is worse then slaverye to follow any public good, and impossible to bring them into a bodye, rule or order, vnless it be by some extraordinary power. But if his Maiestie would please to be perswaded to spare us but a Pinnace, to lodge my men in and defend us and the coast from such invasions, the space of eight or tenn monethes only till we are seated, I would not doubt but ere long to drawe the most part of Newfound Land men to assist us, if I could be so provided but in due season: for now ere the Savages grow subtle and the Coast be too much frequented with strangers, more may be done with 20 li. than hereafter with 100 li.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

How I haue lived, spent my tyme and bene employed, I am not ashamed who will examine. Therefore I humbly beseech your Honour, seriously to consider of it; and lett not the povertie of the Author cause the action to be less respected, who desyres noe better fortune than he could find there.

In the interim I humbly desyre your Honour would be pleased to grace me with the title of your Lordships servant. Not that I desyre to shutt upp the rest of my dayes in the chamber of ease and idleness, but that thereby I may be the better countenanced for the prosecution of this my most desyred voyage: for had I the Patronage of so mature a iudgement as your Honors, it would not only induce those to beleive what I know to be true of this matter, who will now hardly vouchsafe the perusall of my Relations, but also be a meanes to further it to the uttermost of their purses.

And I shal be ever ready to spend both life and goods for the honor of my Country, and your Lordships service. With which resolution I doe in all humility rest,

At your Honors service,

JOHN SMITH.

Smith's pamphlet in its first edition of 1620 bore the following title-page:

“New England's Trials. Declaring the successe of 26 Ships employed thither within these sixe yeares; with the benefit of that Countrey by sea and land: and how to build three score sayle of good Ships, to make a little Navie Royall. Written by Captaine John Smith, London. Printed by William Jones.”

It was first addressed to the Peers of the realm, and afterwards copies were struck off with a dedication to

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

the company of fishmongers. The second edition, which appeared in 1622, was considerably enlarged. The "26 Ships" of the title had increased to 80, and the work was dedicated to Prince Charles.

Ten years later Smith wrote in the "Advertisements": "Though I had divulged to my great labour, cost and losse (1616-1621) more than seven thousand Bookes and Maps, and moved the particular Companies in London, as also Noblemen, Gentlemen and Merchants for a Plantation, all availed no more than to hew Rocks with Oister-shels; so fresh were the living abuses of Virginia and the Summer Iles in their memories."¹

Even in 1621 Smith was planning a comprehensive history of English colonization in Virginia² in which all these previous narratives of his own should be included. The first edition of his "Generall Historie" appeared in 1624. Writing in 1624-5, Samuel Purchas prefaces his extracts from John Smith's "New England's Trials" (1622) with these words:³ "You must observe that it was in those times called by the name of Virginia, and the Northerne Plantation or Colonie. But Captaine Smith (a man which hath so many irons in our fire) presented a Booke of the Countrie to Prince Charles his Highnesse, with a Map of the Countrey, who stiled it (as our hopes are he will one day make it) New England, and altered the Savage names of places to English. Hee made one Voyage thither, Anno 1614, and the next yeere beganne another, which taken by Frenchmen he

¹ Arber ed., II, 941.

² Cf. Works, Arber ed., I, cxxv.

³ Vol. IV, 1837.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

was not able to make up: but in testimonie of his love to his Countrey here, and of his hopes there hath written divers Bookes. One called A Description of New England (in which his said Voyages are described, with the description of the Countrey, and many Arguments to incite men to that undertaking; which I had also prepared for the Presse, but for the former feares have omitted), the other called New England's Trials twice or thrice printed, out of which I have added thus much, that the world may see the benefit to bee made by fishing, and may also be better acquainted with the successe and succession of New Englands Affaires."

While Captain Smith was knocking at the doors of the London guilds, and distributing copies of his book and map, the Pilgrims, 102 in number, set sail in the Mayflower from Plymouth (September 6, 1620). They had financial assistance from a company of London merchants, and a patent from the London Company, which was of no use to them as they did not finally settle within the limits of that company's jurisdiction. Smith refers to them in "New England's Trials" as a company sent out by "some few well disposed Gentlemen and Merchants of London and other places."¹ That he was informed concerning the nature of the company, and perhaps held some discourse with them would seem certain from his allusions to them (1) in his "Travells and Observations" and (2) in "Advertisements for the unexperienced":²

¹ Works, Arber ed., I, 259.

² Works, Arber ed., II, 892, 926, 941, 946.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

(1) "The gaine thence returning did make the fame thereof so increase, that thirty, forty or fifty saile went yearly only to trade and fish; but nothing would bee done for a plantation, till about some hundred of your Brownists of England, Amsterdam, and Leyden, went to New Plimouth, whose humorous¹ ignorances caused them for more than a yeare (1620-1621) to endure a wonderfull deale of misery, with an infinite patience; saying my books and maps were much better cheape to teach them, than myselfe: many other have used the like good husbandry, that have payed soundly in trying their selfe-willed conclusions."

(2) . . . "for such humorists will never believe well, till they bee beaten with their owne rod."

These quotations show how Captain Smith viewed the Pilgrim exodus into the wilderness. He was an adventurer and promoter, but was an eminently practical promoter. He was not a brilliant leader like Raleigh, but he would have been incapable also of Raleigh's blunders. He perceived most clearly the economic bases of colonization, and was perhaps better fitted than any other man then interested in these adventures to guide a colony to financial success. John Smith belonged to that strain of English blood which fathered men like Drake and Argall in his own day, and Rajah Brooke of Sarawak in our time, a virile combination of the sturdy rover and the shrewd administrator. If he had also possessed a larger infusion of the idealism of a Gordon, which has so often transformed English

¹ Humorous == fanatical.

nation-builders of his type, he might have more accurately appreciated the value of the colonizing energies stored within the religious enthusiasms of the Independents and the Puritans.

3. *Thomas Weston's Colony at Wessagussett. 1622-23.*

In the continuation of the *Generall Historie of Virginia* which Captain Smith published in 1630 as a part of the "Travells and Adventures," he added to his story of the settlement at Plymouth these words: "Divers others have in small handfulls undertaken to goe there, to be severall Lords and Kings of themselves; but most vanished to nothing." This might serve as an account of the effort of Thomas Weston of London to found a colony in New England.

Thomas Weston was one of the principal members of the group of London merchant adventurers who provided supplies for the Plymouth colonists. He went to Leyden to interest the members of Mr. Robinson's congregation in an English enterprise rather than in the Dutch project which they had been considering. He made a good impression, and an elaborate agreement was prepared which tended to make Weston and his associates the Lords Proprietors of the projected colony. At Southampton Mr. Weston and the Pilgrim leaders contended so sharply over the terms of their contract that Mr. Weston left them in anger and without means, so that the colonists were compelled to sell part of their supplies in order to meet their obligations.

Altho the agreements were subsequently signed in substantial accordance with Mr. Weston's wishes, he was never again really friendly with the colony.

Meanwhile Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his friends had begun a new undertaking. The survivors of the Plymouth patentees of 1606 petitioned King James for a new charter. Gorges was probably envious of the success of the London Company at Jamestown, and the monarch was wroth with that company because it contained his chief political opponents. James and his advisers were disposed to grant to Gorges and his associates the desired charter, securing to them a complete monopoly of the right to fish along the coasts of New England between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude. The issuance of this charter the London Company naturally opposed by every means in its power. The conflict between the two companies lasted for two years (1619-1621) in the privy council and in Parliament.

Gorges appeared three times before the Commons in 1621 to defend himself and his associates from the charge of establishing an obnoxious monopoly. The arrest (June, 1621) of the leaders of the anti-Gorges party in the London Company, Sir Edward Sandys and the Earl of Southampton, who were also leaders of the popular party in Parliament, put an end to the struggle. The new charter was issued to Gorges and his friends under the title of the "Council established at Plymouth in the County of Devon for the Planting, Ruling, and Governing of New England in America." In order to

interest people in the Council of New England and especially to secure money for its projected colonies, Sir Ferdinando wrote in 1622 a pamphlet called "The Briefe Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England," which, despite its characteristic vagueness and inaccuracy, is the chief witness to the author's long service to the cause of English colonization. The Plymouth Pilgrims, or rather the London adventurers who had financed them, promptly secured a patent for their colony from the new Council (June 1, 1621).

Altho, in July, 1621, Thomas Weston wrote to Bradford that he would "never quit the business, though all the other Adventurers should," early in the following winter he bought from the Council of New England a patent for a colony of his own, sold out his interest in the Plymouth colony, and later wrote again to Plymouth, "I am quit of you and you of me."

Weston's party was a large one, all men, recruited apparently among the adventurous vagabonds in London streets. "Rude fellows," Weston himself called them in a letter to Bradford, and he added with an apparent effort to reconcile the Plymouth brethren to the prospect of unregenerate neighbors: "I hope not only to be able to reclaim them from that profaneness that may scandalize the voyage, but by degrees to draw them to God."

Weston intended to plant his colony in Boston harbor. The advance guard reached Plymouth in May, 1622, and about July 1st, the rest appeared in two ships. There were about sixty men under Weston's brother

Andrew, and Richard Greene, with whom was probably associated Thomas Morton, afterwards famous as the leader at Merry-Mount and the author of the "New English Canaan."

There was no love lost between most of the new colonists and their Pilgrim hosts, and the former soon departed to build their homes within a stockade at Wessagusset (Weymouth Fore-river) in the southern end of Boston harbor.

In October Andrew Weston and Morton returned to England. Greene died suddenly. His successor in command, John Saunders, was incompetent, and the colony soon had the ill-will of the neighboring Massachusetts Indians, whom the Englishmen despoiled and insulted, and yet admitted to a dangerous familiarity. Famine forced the new colonists to appeal to Plymouth for help in the winter of 1622-23. The Weymouth settlers had become so weak that the Indians took their food and blankets from them and brandished knives in their faces. It became known at Plymouth through Massasoit and others that the Indians were discussing a massacre of all the English in the country. The slaughter of the English in Virginia in the preceding March was known at Plymouth. Perhaps it was known also to the Indians. Phineas Pratt, one of the Wessagusset settlers, suspected impending treachery. With some of his Indian neighbors hot upon his trail, he ran alone across the country to Plymouth, and solicited immediate aid. The result was the famous journey of Miles Standish, eight other Englishmen, and

an Indian guide to Wessagusset in April, 1623. Longfellow has immortalized their deeds in the seventh part of "The Courtship of Miles Standish." They found Weston's party unconscious or heedless of their peril of sudden death. Within the blockhouse of the plantation Standish killed with his own hand the chiefs of the hostile Indians, and took the head of one of them back to Plymouth. A few of the colonists went with Standish to Plymouth. Nearly all the others embarked in their own ship and sailed away for the Maine coast and presumably for England. Only three at most, probably men who felt sure of their standing with the Indians, remained in the Wessagusset stockade. "Oh, how happy a thing had it been," wrote Rev. John Robinson when he heard the story, "if you had converted some before you killed any." Governor Bradford, however, who knew more about the inevitable results of domiciling a colony of vagabonds among Indians, wrote: "This was the end of those that sometime bosted of their strength, and what they would doe and bring to pass, in comparison of the people hear; . . . and said at their first arrivall, when they saw the wants hear, that they would take another course, and not to fall into such condition as this simple people were come too. But a man's way is not in his own power; God can make the weake to stand; let him also that standeth take heed least he fall."

In the next year, Thomas Weston came over to see for himself what had ruined his colony. He suffered shipwreck, was pillaged by the Indians, and finally

reached Plymouth destitute. The Plymouth people helped him, as they had helped his men, but he passed on out of the ken of history, still an enemy to the Pilgrims. The story of his dealings and of his colony is well told by Charles Francis Adams in "Three Episodes of Massachusetts History," I, 45-104.¹ Thomas Morton's "New English Canaan," containing an account of the author's experiences and stories of life at Wessagusset, Merry-Mount and the Puritan settlements, was published at Amsterdam in 1637.²

The first division of Morton's book is filled with a discussion of the Indians, their origins, customs, and ideas. The second division opens with the following characteristic rhapsody:

"In the moneth of June, Anno Salutis 1622, it was my chaunce to arrive in the parts of New England with 30 Servants, and provision of all sorts fit for a plantation, and whiles our howses were building, I did indeavour to take a survey of the Country: the more I looked, the more I liked it. And when I had more seriously considered of the bewty of the place, with all her faire indowments, I did not thinke that in all the knowne world it could be paralel'd, for so many goodly groves of trees, dainty fine round rising hillucks, delicate faire large plaines, sweete cristall fountaines, and cleare running streames that twine in fine meanders through the meads, making so sweete a murmuring

¹ See also Bradford's Journal, and for the story of Phineas Pratt IV Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV, 482.

² An edition of it, edited by Charles Francis Adams, has been published by the Prince Society.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

noise to heare as would even lull the senses with delight a-sleepe, so pleasantly doe they glide upon the pebble stones, jetting most jocundly where they doe meete and hand in hand runne downe to Neptunes Court, to pay the yearely tribute which they owe to him as soveraigne Lord of all the springs. Contained within the volume of the Land are Fowles in abundance, Fish in multitude; and I discovered, besides, Millions of Turtledoves one the greene boughes, which sate pecking of the full ripe pleasant grapes that were supported by the lusty trees, whose fruitfull load did cause the armes to bend: among which here and there dispersed you might see Lillies and [flowers] of the Daphnean tree:

“which made the Land to mee seeme paradise;
for in mine eie ’t was Natures Masterpeece;
Her cheifest Magazine of all where lives her store;
if this Land be not rich, then is the whole world poore.”

The rest of the second division of the “New English Canaan” is devoted to an account of the flora and fauna of the country. In the third division Morton attempts a history of the settlements. It is a confused account and contains no further references to his own experiences in the summer of 1622, but describes various episodes in the history of Plymouth Colony, of course in an unfriendly spirit, down to the destruction of his later settlement at Merry-Mount (Mount Wollaston) in June, 1627.

4. *Rev. John White and the Beginnings of the Bay Colony, 1623, 1624. Effort to establish the supremacy of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Voyages of Francis West, Robert Gorges, and Christopher Levett. Levett's Narrative.*

In the winter of 1622, when Weston obtained his patent for a colony, the Council of New England, which means Gorges, made earnest efforts to secure not only subscriptions, but also other colonies, which for the most part failed to materialize. The fact that Gorges was opposed to the popular party as well as to the leaders of the London Company was doubtless detrimental to the financial success of the Council. The Puritan merchants probably liked him even less than Smith did. Some trading-posts, which afterwards became settlements, were begun in 1623: by David Thompson at the mouth of the Piscataqua river (Portsmouth, N. H.), by others probably at Saco and York, and by William and Edward Hilton at Cochecho, near Dover, N. H.

But the most notable settlement in 1623 was on Cape Ann around what is now Gloucester harbor. A patent for this region had passed from the Council of New England thro several hands. The Plymouth colony bought it and conveyed the site for a plantation to a new company which was formed at Dorchester, England. The chief promoter of the "Dorchester Adventurers" was the Rev. John White, a conforming Puritan clergyman of that town, in whose congregation

was one John Endicott. The new company collected a capital of £3000. Fourteen settlers were sent to Cape Ann in the winter of 1623 under one Thomas Gardner, to begin a plantation and a fishery. In 1625 Roger Conant and others who had been dissatisfied at Plymouth, probably because they were not Separatists, joined the Cape Ann colony, and Conant became the governor. In the face of failure and discouragement the interest and pertinacity of John White kept alive the settlement, which had removed to Naumkeag, afterwards Salem, and out of this beginning grew the colony of Massachusetts Bay, which was chartered by the Council of New England in 1628.

During the years 1622-3, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was hard at work to equip and organize another expedition which should establish the authority of the Council of New England, *i.e.*, of himself, in New England, and should found the Gorges colony of which he had dreamed for so many years. Gorges and Dr. Barnaby Gooch, the treasurer, were the only regular attendants at the meetings of the Council. Two or three of the titled patentees occasionally looked in, but most of them apparently refused to give either attention or money. For a colony money and men were necessary. Gorges tried to secure money by means of a royal proclamation (November 6, 1622) forbidding any one to trade or even visit on the American coast between Delaware Bay and the Gulf of St. Lawrence without first purchasing a license from the Council. The penalty was forfeiture of ship and cargo.

SIR FERD. GORGES: WHITE AND LEVETT

At the head of the company of settlers that was to be gathered, Gorges placed his second son Robert, who had been gaining experience in the service of the Venetian republic. Throughout the winter and spring of 1623 the Gorges family labored to assemble a company, build a ship, and find money. Sir Ferdinando hoped that his son's expedition would be the vanguard of a more imposing force which he would himself command, which would plant the English Church as well as the English State on the coast of New England, and exercise authority over all the settlements within the dominions of the Council, at New Plymouth and elsewhere. On Sunday, June 29, 1623, a meeting of the Council was held at Greenwich in the presence of King James, and the whole territory of New England was divided by lot among the twenty members of the Council. Gorges himself received the Boston Bay region. His son Robert had already taken out a patent for the territory immediately north of Boston harbor.

In the same month, June, 1623, the first ship of the new colony sailed into Plymouth harbor. The commander was Captain Francis West, commissioned by the Council of New England to be "Admiral of the Coast during this voyage," and to enforce the ordinances of the Council concerning trading and fishing. This "Admiral" was a Sussex gentleman of the family of Lord De La Warr. In 1608 he had settled in Virginia. Thither he returned after the failure of the present undertaking, and there he died. He seems to have found among the fisher-folk little respect for ordinances

of the Council. Bradford says: "But he could doe no good of them, for they were to stronge for him, and he found the fishermen to be stuberne fellows."¹

Three months later (September, 1623), Robert Gorges and a company of settlers reached New Plymouth. Gorges had the powers of a Governor-General of New England. In his train were two ministers of the Established Church, William Morrell and William Blackstone. The former is said to have carried a commission of visitation and superintendency over all the churches in New England. The company with Gorges was good material for a colony, for it contained whole families, and mechanics and farmers as well as traders and clergymen.

Plymouth seems to have received the newcomers kindly, tho they represented all the ideas that the Pilgrims had fled from; but of course there was no chance to gainsay young Gorges' legal authority over them. The buildings at Wessagusset, which Weston's people had abandoned six months before, were promptly occupied by the new colony, and the permanent settlement of the shores of Boston harbor was begun (September, 1623). Gorges' first act was to apprehend Mr. Weston and try him at Plymouth, probably for selling munitions of war on the continent of Europe, which articles the Council had licensed him to bring to America. Weston's ship was confiscated and he was kept a prisoner for a time, but he was finally released partly through the good offices of the Plymouth governor.

¹ Journal, II, p. 169.

SIR FERD. GORGES: WHITE AND LEVETT

In the spring of 1624 Robert Gorges visited the Maine fisheries, and at Piscataqua (David Thompson's settlement) he met Christopher Levett, one of his own council, who was planning to lead a second division of the great Gorges colony to found a settlement in the region of Casco Bay. From Levett and others young Gorges received advices from home and especially letters from Sir Ferdinando. The letters were virtually letters of recall. There was no more money to be had. A new Parliament was to be called. The great migration must be given up for the present. Robert Gorges returned to England and died not long after. Most of his company remained here. Some continued at Wessagusset under the direction of Rev. Mr. Morrell for a time.

Rev. Mr. Blackstone became the first settler upon the trimountain peninsula of Shawmut, later known as Boston. Thomas Walford and his wife went to the mouth of the Mystic, and founded Charlestown. Samuel Maverick and his wife, who had come over in 1624, were the first settlers at East Boston, or Chelsea.¹ In the next year, 1625, came the settlement of Captain Wollaston, Thomas Morton, and their company at Merry Mount (Quincy). David Thompson in the same year moved his family from the mouth of the Piscataqua to the island in Boston harbor that has since borne his name. At Hull there were already a few settlers to whom Rev. John Lyford and John Oldham went when they were expelled from Plymouth in

¹ Adams: "Three Episodes," I, 328-335.

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1625. Lyford did not stay there long, but went on to Virginia in 1627. Mr. Oldham remained at Nantasket.

If the Gorges family had succeeded in their plans, the Boston region would have been the home of Englishmen who had little in common with the Pilgrims, but much more with Jamestown. As events proved, all these fragments of the Gorges colony were swallowed up in the triumphant inrush of the Bay colony, the outgrowth of Rev. John White's Dorchester Company. The two clergymen escaped. Mr. Morrell went back to England, and Mr. Blackstone, seeing the Puritans surrounding him, went off to live among the Indians with a grumbling jibe about the tyranny of both "Lords Bishops" and "Lords Brethren."

Christopher Levett visited neither Plymouth nor Wessagusset, but he was one of Robert Gorges' Council and his plans were well fitted into the gorgeous visions of Sir Ferdinando's fancy. Moreover he and Rev. William Morrell were the only members of the Gorges colony whose written memorials of their experiences have survived. Mr. Morrell wrote a Latin poem about New England and a metrical translation.¹ Captain Levett wrote the following narrative and argument which was published in 1628.²

Christopher Levett (1585-1630) was a native of

¹ See I Mass. Hist. Coll., I, 125.

² Rev. Mr. Blackstone is believed to have written a record of the expedition of Robert Gorges and of the settlement at Wessagusset. This record was probably destroyed with his other possessions by the Indians at the beginning of King Philip's War. Adams, "Three Episodes," I, 144, 322-328.

York and of good family. In 1608 he married the daughter of Robert More, a Puritan clergyman at Guisley. In 1618 he was living at Sherborne in Dorsetshire, and William Jones printed for him at London a book entitled "An Abstract of Timber Measures." Possibly this work, dedicated to King James, secured for the author an appointment as Woodward of Somersetshire. He became associated with the Gorges family and was a member of the Council for New England. The Council voted, May 5, 1623, to grant to Mr. Levett 6000 acres of land which he might select. Lord Conway, Secretary of State, wrote to Lord Scrope, Lord President of York, June 26, 1623, urging the latter to assist Mr. Christopher Levett in his plan to settle a plantation in New England with a company of Yorkshiremen and to build there "a Citty and call it by the name of Yorke."

So the first New York that was planned for America was to be located in Portland harbor.

After Captain Levett's return to England in 1624, he was probably discouraged like all his recent associates. He was a suitor at court for employment in the public service, and commanded a ship in the expedition against Spain in 1625.

From this time he constantly urged upon his friends and sponsors at court that the King should authorize him to fortify some New England harbors wherein ships could be built and furnished for his Majesty's service, and from whence the ships could sail to control the fisheries and to harass the King's enemies. That he

was thinking of his fortified house on an island in Portland harbor appears plainly enough from sundry allusions in his various memorials to Secretary Coke. Thus in November, 1626, he writes:

"Youre Honour knowes what oppenion I have of New England and my grounds for the same. And I must nede say the more I thinke of it the more I affeckt it. There is no man knowes better than myselfe what benifit would accrew unto this kingdome by the Contry if it were all planted and fortifyed, wch makes me so desirus to tread out a path that all men may follow. I am now in a fayre way to it, only I want a little helpe to further me (wch, if I may so say, the putting tou of the very tope of youre finger would purchas it for me)."

In November, 1627, he writes again in the course of a long statement, "And the fittest harbor I conceive to be quacke¹ (but by me in my discovery named Yorke), bienge the most principall in the Contry and in the midst of all the fishinge."

In the following February the ambition of Captain Levett seemed to be at the point of realization. He had the favor of the duke of Buckingham, and his plan was accepted by the King in Council. A royal proclamation announced that "our well beloved subject" Captain Christopher Levett was appointed Governor of New England, and ordered collections to be taken in all churches in the realm for the maintenance of the Captain's plantation. Captain Levett now published

¹ Quacke = Casco Bay.

CAPTAIN CHRISTOPHER LEVETT'S NARRATIVE

his account of the voyage in 1623-24. Chapter VII of the relation seems to contain an argument for liberality in those contributions in the parish churches that had been ordered by the King in his behalf. In chapter V he says that when he was writing there were four men of Mr. Weston's former colony still living at Levett's house at Casco Bay.

The murder of Buckingham in August, 1628, and the political confusion that followed doubtless put an end to Captain Levett's visions of a career in New England. When Winthrop and Endicott at the head of the Massachusetts Bay Colony sailed into Salem harbor in 1630 they found Captain Levett there in command of a ship. His property in Casco Bay passed into the possession of Plymouth merchants. He sailed for England soon after his meeting with the Bay colonists, some of whom gave him letters for friends in England. But Captain Levett died on the way home, and was buried in the Atlantic. The letters which he carried fell into wrong hands and caused the Bay colony some trouble because the writers had manifested antagonism to the English Church. So ended the last chapter in the history of the Gorges colony of 1623.¹

¹ Cf. the volume prepared for the Gorges Society at Portland, Maine, in 1893 by James Phinney Baxter, A.M., on "Christopher Levett of York, the Pioneer Colonist in Casco Bay."

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A
VOYAGE
INTO NEW
ENGLAND

BEGUN IN 1623, AND ENDED
IN 1624.

PERFORMED BY CHRISTOPHER LEVETT
HIS MAJESTIES WOODWARD OF SOMERSET-SHIRE, AND
ONE OF THE COUNCELL OF NEW ENGLAND.

YORKES

Cut of
a ship
under full
sail.

BONAVENTURE.

PRINTED AT LONDON, BY WILLIAM JONES,
AND ARE TO BE SOLD BY EDWARD BREWSTER, AT THE SIGNE
OF THE BIBLE IN PAULES CHURCH YARD.

1628.

CAPTAIN CHRISTOPHER LEVETT'S NARRATIVE

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, GEORGE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM, HIS GRACE, THOMAS EARLE
OF ARROUNDELL AND SURREY, ROBERT
EARLE OF WARWICK, JOHN EARLE OF HOUL-
DERNES, AND THE REST OF THE COUNSELL
FOR NEW ENGLAND.

MAY it please your Lordships, that whereas you granted your Commission unto Captaine Robert Gorges, Governour of New England, Captaine Fraunces West, myselfe, and the Governour of New Plimouth, as Counsellors with him, for the ordering and Governing of all the said Terretories, wherein wee have ben diligent to the uttermost of our powers, as we shall be ready to render an account unto your Honors, when you shall be pleased to require us thereunto. In the meane-time, I thought it my dutie to present unto your viewes such observations as I have taken, both of the Countrey and People, Commodities & Discommodities; as also, what places are fit to settle Plantations in, in which not; what courses are fit in my understanding to bee taken, for bringing Glory to God, Honour to our King and Nation, good unto the Commonwealth, & profit to all Adventurers and Planters; which I humbly beseech your Lordships to accept of, as the best fruits of a shallow capastie: so shall I thinke my time and charge well imploied, which I have spent in these affaires.

I have omitted many things in this my discourse, which I conceived to be Impertinent at this time for me to relate, as of the time of my being at Sea, of the strange Fish which wee there

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saw, some with wings flying above the water, others with manes, eares, and heads, and chasing one another with open mouths like stone Horses in a parke, as also of the steering of our Course, the observation of the Sunne and Starres, by which the elevation of the Pole is found, the degrees of latitude knowen, which shews how far a ship is out of his due course, either to the North or South; likewise of the making of the land at our arrivall upon the choast of New England how it did arise and appeare unto us; how every Harbour beares one from another upon the point of the Compas: and what Rockes and dangers are in the way: how many fathom water is found by sounding at the entrance of every Harbour; and from how many of the severall winds all the Harbours are land-locked. But by this meanes I thought I should not only be tedious, but also be in danger of losing myselfe, for want of fit phraises and sound iudgment, in the Arts of the Mathematickes and Navigation, (being but a young Scholler though an ancient traviler by sea) and therefore thought better to omit those then anything I have related.

Thus beseeching God to blesse your Honors, I rest at your Lordshippes service.

CHRISTOPHER LEVETT.

A VOYAGE INTO NEW ENGLAND.

Chapter I.

My discovery of diverse rivers and harbours with their names, and which are fit for plantations, and which not.

THe first place I set my foote upon in NEW ENGLAND, was the Isles of SHOULDERS, being Ilands in the Sea, about two Leagues from the Mayne.

Upon these Ilands, I neither could see one good timber tree, nor so much good ground as to make a garden.

The place is found to be a good fishing place for 6 Shippes, but more cannot well be there for want of convenient stage-roome, as this yeare's experience hath proved.

The Harbor is but indifferent good. Upon these Ilands are no Savages at all.

The next place I came unto was PANNAWAY,¹ where one M. TOMSON hath made a Plantation, there I stayed about one Moneth in which time I sent for my men from the East: who come over in diverse Shippes.

At this place I met with the Governour,² who came thither in a Barke which he had from one M. WESTON³ about 20 dayes before I arived in the Land.

The Governour then told me that I was joyned with him in Commission as a Counsellor, which being read I found it was so. And he then, in the presence of three more of the Counsell, administered unto me an oath.

¹ Piscataqua River. David Thompson, agent for Sir Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason, lived here for two years and then moved to an island in Boston harbor.

² Robert Gorges.

³ The adventurer who was at first financially interested in the Plymouth colony and afterwards made a complete failure with a colony of his own at Weymouth.

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After the meeting of my men, I went a coasting in two boats with all my company.

In the time I stayd with M. TOMSON, I surveyed as much as possible I could, the wether being unseasonable, and very much snow.

In those parts I saw much good Timber. But the ground it seemed to me not to be good, being very rocky and full of trees and brushwood.

There is a great store of fowle of diverse sorts, whereof I fed very plentifully.

About two English miles further to the East, I found a great River and a good harbour called PASCATTAWAY.¹ But for the ground I can say nothing, but by the relation of the SAGAMORE or King of that place, who told me there was much good ground up in the river about seven or eight leagues.

About two leagues further to the East, is another great river called AQUAMENTICUS.² There I think a good plantation may be settled, for there is a good harbour for ships, good ground, and much already cleared, fit for planting of corne and other fruits, having heretofore ben planted by the Salvages who are all dead. There is good timber, and likely to be good fishing, but as yet there hath beene no tryall made that I can heare of.

About 6 leagues further to the East is a harbour called CAPE PORPAS, the which is indifferent good for 6 shippes, and it is generally thought to be an excellent place for fish, but as yet there has been no tryall made, but there may be a good plantation seated, for there is good Timber and good ground, but will require some labour and charge.

About foure leagues further East, there is another harbour called SAWCO³ (betweene this place and CAPE PORPAS I

¹ At Portsmouth, N. H.

² York River.

³ Mouth of the Saco River.

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lost one of my men) before we could recover the harbour a great fog or mist tooke us that we could not see a hundred yards from us. I perceiving the fog to come upon the Sea, called for a Compasse and set the Cape land, by which wee knew how to steare our course, which was no sooner done but wee lost sight of land and my other boate, and the winde blew fresh against us, so that we were enforced to strike saile and betake us to our Oares which wee used with all the wit and strength we had, but by no meanes could we recover the shore that night, being imbayed and compassed round with breaches, which roared in a most fearfull manner on every side us; wee took counsell in this extremity one of another what to doe to save our lives, at length we resolved that to put to sea againe in the night was no fit course, the storme being great, and the winde blowing right of the shore, and to runne our boate on the shore amongst the breaches, (which roared in a most fearefull manner) and cast her away and indanger ourselves we were loath to do, seeing no land nor knowing where we were. At length I caused our Killick¹ (which was all the Anker we had) to be cast forth, and one continually to hold his hand upon the roope or cable, by which we knew whether our anker held or no: which being done wee commended our selves to God by prayer, & put on a resolution to be as comfortable as we could, and so fell to our victuals. Thus we spent that night, and the next morning, with much adoe we got into SAWCO, where I found my other boate.

There I stayed five nights, the winde beinge contrary, and the weather very unseasonable, having much raine and snow, and continuall foggse.

We built us our Wigwam, or house, in one houres space, it had no frame, but was without forme or fashion, onely a few poles set up together, and covered with our boates sailes which kept forth but a little winde, and lesse raigne and snow.

¹ A heavy stone used in small vessels as a substitute for an anchor.

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Our greatest comfort we had, next unto that which was spirituall, was this we had foule enough for killing, wood enough for felling, and good fresh water enough for drinking.

But our beds was the wet ground, and our bedding our wet cloaths. Wee had plenty of Craine, Goose, Duckes and Mallard, with other fowle, both boyled and rosted, but our spits and racks were many times in danger of burning before the meate was ready (being but wooden ones).

After I had stayed there three daies, and no likelyhood of a good winde to carrie us further, I tooke with me six of my men, and our Armes, and walked along the shore, to discover as much by land as I could: after I had travelled about two English miles I met with a river which stayed me that I could goe no further by land that day, but returned to our place of habitation where we rested that night (having our lodging amended) for the day being dry I caused all my company to accompany mee to a marsh ground, where wee gathered every man his burthen of long dry grasse, which being spread in our Wigwam or House, I praised God I rested as contentedly as ever I did in all my life. And then came into my minde an old merry saying, which I have heard of a beggar boy, who said if ever he should attaine to be a King, he would have a breast of mutton with a pudding in it, and lodge every night up to the eares in drye straw; and thus I made myselfe and my company as merry as I could, with this and some other conceits, making this use of all, that it was much better then wee deserved at Gods hands, if he should deale with us according to our sinnes.

The next morning I caused 4 of my men to rowe my lesser boate to this river, who with much adoe got in myselfe, and 3 more going by land: but by reason of the extremitie of the wether we were enforced to stay there that night, and were constrained to sleepe upon the river banke, being the best place wee could finde, the snowe being very deepe.

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The next morning wee were enforced to rise betime, for the tyde came up so high that it washed away our fire, and would have served us so too if we had not kept watch: So wee went over the river in our boate, where I caused some to stay with her, myselfe being desirous to discover further by land, I tooke with me foure men and walked along the shore about sixe English miles further to the East, where I found another river, which staid mee. So we returned backe to Sawco, where the rest of my company and my other boate lay. That night I was exceeding sicke, by reason of the wet and cold and much toyl-ing of my body: but thanks be to God I was indifferent well the next morning, and the winde being faire we put to sea, and that day came to QUACK.

But before I speak of this place I must say something of SAWCO, and the two rivers which I discovered in that bay, which I thinke never Englishman saw before.

SAWCO is about one league to the North-east of a cape land. And about one English mile from the maine lieth sixe Ilands, which make an indifferent good harbour. And in the maine there is a Cove or gutt, which is about a cables length in bredth, and too cables length long, there two good Ships may ride, being well mored a-head and starne; and within the Cove there is a great Marsh, where at a high water a hundredth sayle of Ships may floate, and be free from all winds, but at low water must ly aground, but being soft oase they can take no hurte.

In this place there is a world of fowle, much good timber, and a great quantetie of cleare ground and good, if it be not a little too sandy. There hath beene more fish taken within too leagues of this place this yeare then in any other in the land.

The river next to SAWCO eastwards, which I discovered by land, and after brought my boat into, is the strangest river that ever my eyes beheld. It flowes at the least ten foot water upright, and yet the ebbe runs so strong that the tyde doth not

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stem it. At three quarters floud my men were scarce able with foure Oares to rowe ahead. And more than that, at full Sea I dipped my hand in the water, quite without the mouth of the River, in the very main Ocean, and it was as fresh as though it had been taken from the head of a Spring.

This River, as I am told by the SALVAGES, commeth from a great mountaine called the Christall hill, being as they say 100 miles in the Country, yet is it to be seene at the sea side, and there is no ship arives in NEW ENGLAND, either to the West so farre as CAPE COD, or to the East so farre as MONHIGGEN, but they see this Mountaine the first land, if the weather be cleere.

The next river Eastward which I discovered by land, is about sixe miles from the other. About these two rivers I saw much good timber and sandy ground, there is also much fowle, fish and other commodities: but these places are not fit for plantation for the present, because there is no good comming in, either for ship, or boate, by reason of a sandy breach which lyeth alongst the shore, and makes all one breach.¹

And now in its place I come to QUACK,² which I have named YORKE. At this place there fished divers ships of WAYMOUTH this yeare.

It lyeth about two leagues to the East of CAPE ELIZABETH. It is a Bay or Sound betwixt the Maine and certaine Ilands which lyeth in the sea about one English mile and halfe.

There are foure Ilands which makes one good harbour, there is very good fishing, much fowle and the mayne as good ground as any can desire. There I found one River wherein the Savages say there is much SALMON and other good fish. In this Bay, there hath ben taken this yeare 4 STURGIONS, by fishermen who drive only for HERRINGS, so that it is

¹ Dr. Baxter suggests that this is the Spurwink.

² Portland Harbor and Casco Bay in general.

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likely there may be good store taken if there were men fit for that purpose. This River I made bold to call by my owne name LEVETTS¹ river, being the first that discovered it. How farre this river is Navigable I cannot tell, I have ben but 6 miles up it, but on both sides is goodly ground.

In the same Bay I found another River,² up which I went about three miles, and found a great fall, of water much bigger than the fall at LONDON bridge, at low water; further a boate cannot goe, but above the fall the River runnes smooth againe.

Just at this fall of water the SAGAMORE or King of that place hath a house, where I was one day when there were two SAGAMORS more, their wives and children, in all about 50. and we were but 7. They bid me welcome and gave me such victualls as they had, and I gave them Tobacco and Aqua vitæ.

After I had spent a little time with them I departed & gave them a small shot, and they gave me another. And the great SAGAMORE of the East country, whom the rest doe acknowledge to be chiefe amongst them, hee gave unto me a Bevers skin, which I thankfully received, and so in great love we parted. On both sides this river there is goodly ground.

From this harbour to SAGADABOCK, which is about 8 or 9 leagues, is all broken Ilands in the Sea, which makes many excellent good Harbours, where a thousand saile of Shippes may ride in safety; the sound going up within the Ilands to the Cape of SAGADABOCK.

In the way betwixt YORKE and SAGADABOCK lyeth CASCOE, a good harbour, good fishing, good ground, and much fowle. And I am perswaded that from CAPE ELIZABETH to SAGADABOCK, which is about 30 leagues to follow the Maine, is all exceeding commodious for Plantations: and that there may be 20 good Townes well seated, to take the benefit both of the sea, and fresh Rivers.

¹ Fore River. ² The Presumpscot.

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For SAGADABOCK I need say nothing of it, there hath been heretofore enough said by others, and I feare me too much. But the place is good, there fished this yeare two ships.

The next place I came to was CAPEMANWAGAN,¹ a place where nine ships fished this yeare. But I like it not for a plantation, for I could see little good timber & lesse good ground, there I stayed foure nights, in which time, there came many Savages with their wives and children, and some of good accompt amongst them, as MENAWORMET a Sagamore, COGAWESCO the Sagamore of CASCO and QUACK now called YORKE, SOMERSET, a Sagamore, one that hath ben found very faithfull to the English, and hath saved the lives of many of our Nation, some from starving, others from killing.

They intended to have ben gone presently, but hearing of my being there, they desired to see me, which I understood by one of the Masters of the Ships who likewise told me that they had some store of Beaver coats and skinnies, and was going to PEMAQUID to truck with one Mr. WITHERIDGE, a Master of a ship of Bastable, and desired me to use meanes that they should not carry them out of the harbour, I wisht them to bring all their truck to one Mr. COKES stage, & I would do the best I could to put it away: Some of them did accordingly, and I then sent for the SAGAMORES, who came, and after some complements they told me I must be their cozen, and that Captaine GORGES was so, (which you may imagine I was not a little proud of, to be adopted cozen to so many great Kings at one instant, but did willingly accept of it) and so passing away a little time very pleasantly, they desired to be gone, whereupon I told them that I understood they had some coates and Beavers skins which I desired to truck for but they were unwilling, and I seemed carelesse of it (as men must doe if they desire any thing of them.) But at last SOMERSET swore that there should be none carryed

¹ Boothbay.

out of the harbour, but his cozen LEVETT should have all, and then they began to offer me some by way of gift, but I would take none but one paire of sleeves from COGAWESCO, but told them it was not the fashion of English Captaines alwaies to be taking, but sometimes to take and give, and continually to truck was very good. But in fine, we had all except one coate and two skinnies, which they reserved to pay an old debt with, but they, staying all that night, had them stole from them.

In the morning the SAGAMORES came to mee with a grievous complaint, I used the best language I could to give them content, and went with them to some Stages which they most suspected, and searched both Cabins and Chests, but found none. They seeing my willingnesse to finde the theefe out, gave mee thankses, and wished me to forbear saying the Rogues had carried them into the woods where I could not find them.

When they were ready to depart they asked mee where I meant to settle my plantation. I told them I had seene many places to the west, and intended to goe farther to the east before I could resolve, they sayed there was no good place, and I had heard that PEMOQUID and CAPMANWAGAN, and MONHIGGON were granted to others, & the best time for fishing was then at hand, which made me the more willing to retire, and the rather because COGAWESCO, the SAGAMORE of CASCO and QUACKE, told me if that I would sit downe at either of those two places, I should be very welcome, and that he and his wife would goe along with me in my boate to see them, which curtesy I had no reason to refuse, because I had set up my resolution before to settle my plantation at QUACKE, which I named YORKE, and was glad of this opportunity, that I had obtained the consent of them who as I conceive hath a naturall right of inheritance, as they are the sonnes of Noah, and therefore doe thinke it fit to carry things

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very fairely without compulsion, (if it be possible) for avoyding of treacherie.

The next day the winde came faire, and I sayled to QUACKE or YORKE, with the King, Queene, and Prince, bowe and arrowes, dogge and kettell in my boate, his noble attendance rowing by us in their Cannow.

When we came to YORKE the Masters of the Shippes came to bid me welcome, and asked what Savages those were, I told them, and I thanked them. They used them kindly, & gave them meate, drinke and tobacco. The woman or reputed Queene, asked me if those men were my friends, I told her they were: then she dranke to them, and told them, they were welcome to her Countrey, and so should all my friends be at any time, she dranke also to her husband, and bid him welcome to her Countrey too, for you must understand that her father was the SAGAMORE of this place, and left it to her at his death having no more Children.

And thus after many dangers, much labour and great charge, I have obtained a place of habitation in NEW-ENGLAND, where I have built a house, and fortified it in a reasonable good fashion, strong enough against such enemies as are those Savage people.¹

Chapter II.

How the Savages carried themselves unto me continually, and of my going to their Kings houses: and their comming to mine.

WHILEST I staid in this place I had some little trucke, but not much, by reason of an evill member in the Harbour, who being covetous of trucke used the matter so, that he got the Savages away from me.

¹ Dr. Baxter identifies the site of this building with an island, called House Island, near Cape Elizabeth, and gives good reasons for thinking that its name is derived from Levett's house.

And it is no wonder that he should abuse me in this sort, for he hath not spared your Lordships and all the Counsell for NEW-ENGLAND.

He said unto the Governour that the Lords had sent men over into that Countrey with Commissions, to make a prey of others. And yet for my owne part I never demanded or tooke from any man in that Countrey, the value of a denier neither had I so much helpe, from any Shippe or Shippes company as one mans labour the space of an houre, nor had I any provision or victuall upon any tearmes whatsoever, save onely 1000. of bread, and 22. bushells of pease, which was offered unto mee and not by me requested, for which I gave present satisfaction in BEVER skines: and also one Rownlet of AQUA VITAE, which was brought to me 16 Leagues unexpected, which good manners bid me buy. Much more provision was offered to me by many Masters of Ships, but I had no need thereof, so I gave them thanks for their kindnesse, and refused all.

Nay, it is well knowne, that I was so farre from doing wrong to any: that I suffered the Land which was granted to me by Pattent and made choyce of before any other man came there, to be used, and my timber to be cut downe & spoyled, without taking or asking any satisfaction for the same. And I doubt not but all others to whom you gave authoritie, will sufficiently cleare themselves of all such imputations.

He said also he cared not for any authoritie in that place and though he was forbid to trucke yet would he have all he could get: in despite of who should say to the contrary, having a great Ship with 17 pieces of Ordinance and 50 men.

And indeed his practise was according to his words, for every Sunday or once in the weeke, he went himselfe or sent a boate up the river and got all the trucke before they could come downe to the Harbour. And so many Savages as he could get to his stage, hee would enforce them to leave their goods behind them. One instance amongst many I will give you.

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On a certaine day there came two Savages to his place, who were under the command of SOMERSET or CONWAY, I know not whether, at which time they were both with me at my house, but the other two who went to him knew not so much, but afterwards they understanding of it came presently over, but left their Cotts and BEAVER skins behind them, whereat SOMERSET and CONWAY were exceeding angrie and were ready to beate the poore fellows, but I would not suffer them so to doe. They presently went over the Harbor themselves in their CANNOW to fetch their goods, but this man would let them have none, but wished them to truck with him, they told him they would not, but would carry them to Captaine LEVETT, he said LEVETT was no captaine, but a Jacknape, a poore fellow, &c. They told him againe that he was a ROAGUE, with some other speeches, whereupon he and his company fell upon them & beate them both, in so much that they came to me in a great rage against him, and said they would be revenged on his Fishermen at sea, and much adoe I had to diswade one of them for going into ENGLAND to tell King JAMES of it, as he said; when they came to me in this rage, there was two or three Masters of Shippes by, and heard every word.

But all this did me no hurt, (save the losse of the trucke, which by divers was thought to be worth above 50 li.) for the two SAGAMORES whom he inticed from me, and incensed against me, at length used meanes to be freinds with me, sending one who asked me, if I were angrie with them, I told them no, I was not angrie with them for any such matter as lowsie Cotts and skinnes, but if they were MATCHETT, that is, naughtie men, and rebellious, then I would be MOUCHICK HOGGERY, that is very angry, and would CRAM, that is, kill them all.

When they came them selves to me to seeke peace, they brought me a BEAVER Coate, and two OTTER skines,

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which they would have let me had for nothing, but I would not take them so, but gave them more than usually I did by way of Trucke, I then told them likewise that if at any time they did Trucke with mee, they should haue many good things in lieu of their Beaver: and if they did not Trucke it was no matter, I would be good friends with them, at which they smiled and talked one to the other, saying the other man was a Jacknape, and that I had the right fashion of the ABER-IENEY¹ SAGAMORES, then they began to applaude or rather flatter me, saying I was so bigge a SAGAMORE, yea foure fathom, which were the best words they could use to expresse their minds: I replied that I was a poore man as he had reported of mee. They said againe it was no matter what I said, or that Jacknape (which is the most disgracefull word that may be in their conceite,) for all the SAGAMORES in the Country loved poore LEVETT and was Muchicke sorrie that he would be gon, and indeed I cannot tell what I should thinke of them, for ever after they would bring mee any thing they thought would give mee content, as Egges and the whole bodyes of BEAVER, which in my concite eate like LAMBE, and is not inferiour to it: yea the very coats of Beaver & OTTER-SKINNES from off their backes, which though I many time refused, yet not allwaies, but I never tooke any such courtesie from them, but I requited them answerably, chusing rather to neglect the present profit, then the hopes I have to bring them to better things, which I hope will be for a publicke good, and which I am perswaded were a greevous sinne, to neglect for any sinister end.

And a little before my departure there came these SAGAMORES to see mee, SADAMOYT, the great SAGAMORE of the East Countrey, MANAWORMET, OPPARUNWIT, SKEDRAGUSCETT, COGAWESCO, SOMERSETT, CONWAY and others.

¹ Abenakis.

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They asked me why I would be gone out of their Countrey, I was glad to tell them my wife would not come thither except I did fetch her, they bid a pox on her hounds, (a phrase they have learned and doe use when they doe curse) and wished me to beate her. I told them no, for then our God would bee angrie. Then they runne out upon her in evil tearmes, and wished me to let her alone and take another, I told them our God would be more angrie for that. Againe they bid me beate her, beate her, repeating it often, and very angerly, but I answered no, that was not the English fashion, and besides, she was a good wife and I had children by her, and I loved her well, so I satisfied them. Then they told me that I and my wife and Children, with all my friends, should bee hartily welcome into that Countrey at any time, yea a hundreth thousand times, yea MOUCHICKE, MOUCHICKE, which is a word of waight.

And SOMERSETT tould that his Sonne (who was borne, whilst I was in the Countrey, and whom hee would needs have to Name) and mine should be Brothers and that there should be muchicke legamatch, (that is friendship) betwixt them, untill TANTO carried them to his wigwam, (that is untill that they died.)

Then they must know of mee how long I would be wanting, I told them so many Months, at which they seemed to be well pleased, but wisht me to take heede I proved not CHECHASKE in that (that is, a liar.) They asked me what I would doe with my house, I told them I would leave 10 of my men there untill I came againe, and that they should kill all the TARRANTENS they should see (being enimies to them) and with whom the English have no commarsse. At which they reioyced exceedingly, and then agreed amongst themselves that when the time should be expired, which I spoke of for my returne, every one at the place where he lived would looke to the Sea, and when they did see a Ship they wold send to all the

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SAGAMORES in the Countrey, and tell them that poore LEVETT was come againe. And thus instead of doing me hurt, I thinke that either he or I have done good to all Planters, by winning their affections, (which may bee made use of without trusting of them.)

But if your Lordship should put up with this wrong done unto you, and the Authority which you gave them, never expect to be obeyed in those parts, either by Planters or Fishermen; for some have not stucke to say, that if such a man, contemning authority, and abusing one of the counsell, and drawing his knife upon him at his own house, which he did, should goe unpunished, then would not they care what they did heereafter.

And truely let me tell your Lordships, that if ever you intend to punish any for disobedience, or contempt of authority, this man is a fit instrument to make a president¹ of, for he is rich, and this yeare will gaine the best part of 500 pounds by that Countrie, and he hath nether wife nor childe, for whose sakes he should be spared.

And if he goe free, as hee has domineered over us, to whom your Lordships gave authority, but no power to put it in execution, so will he grow unmannerly too with your Lordships, as hee hath already begunne.

And it will discourage men hereafter to take any authority upon them, or to goe about to reforme any abuses in those parts, and also it will hinder Planters for going over, if Fishermen be suffered not onely to take away their truck, but also to animate the Savages against them, for this is the way to cause all Planters to have their throats cut.

But I leave these things to your Lo. consideration, who have as well power as authority to punish such rebellious persons.

Thus having acquainted you with what I have done, seen and heard; now give me leave to tell you what I thinke of

¹ Precedent.

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the Savages, the inhabitants of that country: as also to iustifie the innocent, I meane the Countrie of NEW-ENGLAND, against the slanderous reports of this man, and some others which I have heard, and likewise to deliver my opinion, what courses I conceive to be most convenient to be taken, for bringing most glorie to God, comfort, honor and benefit to our King, and to our owne Native Nation.

Chapter III.

The Nature and Disposition of the Savages, and of their several Gods, Squanto and Tanto.

I HAVE had much conference with the Savages, about our only true God, and have done my best to bring them to know and acknowledge him, but I feare me all the labour that way will be lost, and no good will be done, except it be among the younger sort.

I find they have two Gods, one they love: and the other they hate: the god they love, they call SQUANTO, and to him they ascribe all their good fortunes.

The god they hate they call TANTO, and to him they ascribe all their evill fortunes, as thus, when any is killed, hurt or sicke, or when it is evill wether, then they say TANTO is HOGGRY, that is angry. When any dyes, they say TANTO carries them to his WIGWAM, that is his house, and they never see them more.

I have asked them where SQUANTO dwells, they say they cannot tell but up on high, and will poynt upwards. And for TANTO, they say farre west, but they know not where.

I have asked them if at any time they have seene SQUANTO, or TANTO, they say no, there is none sees them, but their PAWWAWES, nor they neither, but when they dreame.

Their PAWWAWES are their Phisitians and Surgions, and as I verely beleieve they are all Witches, for they foretell

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of ill wether, and many strange things, every SAGAMORE hath one of them belongs to his company, and they are altogether directed by them.

On a time I was at a SAGAMORES house and saw a MARTINS skin, and asked if he would trucke it, the SAGAMORE told me no, the PAWWAWE used to lay that under his head when he dreamed, and if he wanted that he could doe nothing, thus we may perceive how the devill deludes those poore people and keeps them in blindnesse.

I find them generally to be marvellous quicke of apprehension, and full of subteltie, they will quickly find any man's disposition, and flatter & humour him strangely, if they hope to get anything of him. And yet will they count him a foole if he doe not shew a dislike of it, and will say on to another, that such a man is a MECHECOME.

They are slow of speech, and if they heare a man speake much they will laugh at him, and say he is a MECHECUM, that is a foole.

If men of place be to familiar with them, they will not respect them: therefore it is to be wished that all such persons should be wise in their Carriage.

The SAGAMORES will scarce speake to an ordinary man, but will point to their men, and say SANOPS must speake to SANOPS, and SAGAMORS to SAGAMORS.

They are very bloody minded and full of Tracherie amongst themselves, one will kill another for their wives, and he that hath the most wives is the bravest fellow: therefore I would wish no man to trust them, what ever they say or doe; but alwaies to keepe a strickt hand over them, and yet to use them kindly, and deale uprightly with them; so shall they, please God, keepe their reputation amongst them, and be free from danger.

Their SAGAMORS are no Kings, as I verilie beleeve, for I can see no Government or Law amongst them but Club

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Law: and they call all Masters of Shippes SAGAMORE, or any other man, that they see have a cammaund of men.

Their wives are their slaves, and doe all their worke; the men will doe nothing but kill Beasts, Fish &c.

On a time reasoning with one of their SAGAMORS about their having so many wives, I tould him it was no good fashion, he then asked mee how many wives King JAMES had, I told him he never had but one, and shee was dead, at which he wondred, and asked mee who then did all the Kings worke. You may Imagin he thought their fashion was universal and that no King had any to worke for them but their wives.

They have no apparrell but skinnes, except they have it from the ENGLISH, or FRENCH; in winter they weare the haire side inwards, in summer outwards. They have a peece of a skinne about their loines like a girdle and between their legges goes another, made fast to the girdles before and behind, which serves to cover their nakednesse, they are all thus apparrelled, going bare headed with long haire, sometimes you shall not know the men from women but by their breasts, the men having no haire on their faces.

When their Children are borne they bind them on a peece of board, and set it upright, either against a tree or any other place. They keep them thus bound untill they be three months old, and after they are continuall naked untill they be about five or sixe yeares.

Yee shall have them many times take their Children & bury them in the snow all but their faces for a time, to make them the better to endure cold, and when they are not about 2 yeares old, they will take them and cast them into the Sea, like a little dogge or Cat, to learne them to swimme.

Their weapons are bowes and arrowes, I never saw more then two fowling peeces, one pistall, about foure Halfe-pikes, and three Curtlaces¹ amongst them, so that we neede not to feare them much, if wee avoid their Treacherie.

¹ Cutlasses.

Their houses are built in halfe an houres space being onely a few powles or boughes stucke in the ground and covered with the barkes of trees.

Their Language differs as ENGLISH & WELCH. On a time the Governour was at my house, and brought with him a SALVAGE, who lived not above 70. miles from the place which I have made choise of, who talking with another Savage, they were glad to use broken ENGLISH to expresse their mind each to other, not being able to understand one another in their Language.

And to say something of the Countrey: I will not doe therein as some have done, to my knowledge speak more then is true: I will not tell you that you may smell the corne fields before you see the Land, neither must men thinke that corne doth growe naturally (or on trees,) nor will the DEARE come when they are called, or stand still and looke one a man untill he shute him, not knowing a man from a beast, nor the fish leape into the kettle, nor on the drie Land, neither are they so plentifull that you may dipp them up in baskets, nor take CODD in netts to make a voyage, which is no truer: then that the fowles will present themselves to you with spitts through them.

But certainly there is fowle, DEARE, and Fish enough for the taking if men be diligent, there be also Vines, Plume trees, Cherry trees, Strawberies, Gooseberies, and Raspes,¹ Walnuts, chesnut, and small nuts, of each great plenty: there is also great store of parsley, and divers other holesome Earbes, both for profit and pleasure, with great store of Saxifrage, Cersa-perilla, and Anni-seeds.²

And for the ground there is large &c goodly Marsh to make meddow, higher land for pasture and corne.

There be these severall sorts of earth, which I have seene, as

¹ Raspberries.

² Anise-seeds.

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CLAY, SAND, GRAVILL, yea and as blacke fatt earth, as ever I sawe in ENGLAND in all my life.

There are likewise these helpes for ground, as Seasand, OREWORTH or WRACKE,¹ MARLE blew and white, and some men say there is LIME, but I must confesse I never saw any LIME-STONE: but I have tried the Shels of Fish, and I find them to be good LIME.

Now let any husbandman tell mee, whither there be any feare of having any kind of Corne, having these severall kinds of Earth with these helpes, the Climat being full as good if not better than ENGLAND.

I dare be bold to say also, there may be Shippes as conveniently built there as in any place of the world, where, I have beene, and better cheape. As for Plancke, crooked Timber, and all other sorts what so ever can be desired for such purpose, the world cannot afford better Masts and Yeards of all sises, there be also Trees growing, whereof Pitch and Tarre is made.

And for Sailes and all sorts of Cordish² you neede not to want, if you will but sowe Hempe and Flaxseede, and after worke it. Now there wants nothing but Iron, and truely I thinke I have seene Iron-stones there, but I must acknowledge I have no great iudgement in Mineralls, yet I have seen the Iron-workes in ENGLAND, and this Stone is like ours. But howsoever if the Countrie will not afford Iron, yet it may be easilie brought, for it is good Ballast for Shippes.

There is also much excellent Timber for Joyners and Coopers: howsoever a worthy Noble man hath beene abused, who sent over some to make Pippe-staves, who either for want of skill or industrie, did no good. Yet I dare say no place in ENGLAND can afford better Timber for Pippe-staves, then foure severall places which I have seene in that Countrie.

Thus have I related unto you what I have seene, and doe

¹ Sea-weed, called more commonly orewood, or sea-wrack (wreck), and used for fertilizing soil.

² Cordage.

know may be had in those parts of NEW-ENGLAND where I have beene, yet was I never at the Mesachusett, which is counted the Paradise of NEW-ENGLAND, nor at CAPE ANN. But I feare there hath been to faire a glosse set on CAPE Ann. I am told there is a good Harbour which makes a faire Invitation, but when they are in, their entertainment is not answerable, for there is little good ground, and the Shippes which fished there this yeare, their boats went twenty miles to take their Fish, and yet they were in great feare of making their Voyages, as one of the Masters confessed unto me who was at my house.

Neither was I at NEW-PLIMOTH, but I feare that place is not so good as many other, for, if it were, in my conceite they would content themselves with it and not seeke for any other having ten times so much ground as would serve ten times so many people as they have now amongst them. But it seemes they have no Fish to make benifit of, for this yeare they had one Shippe Fisht at PEMOQUID, and an other at CAPE ANN, where they have begun a new Plantation, but how long it will continew I know not.

Neither was I ever farther to the West then the Iles of SHOULDS.

Thus have I done with my commendations of the Countrie. I will now speake the worst I know by it.

About the middle of May you shall have little Flies, called MUSKETOES, which are like Gnatts, they continue as I am told, untill the last of July. These are very troublesome for the time, for they sting exceedingly both night and day. But I found by experience that bootes or thicke stockings would save the legges, gloves the hands, and tiffeney¹ or some such things which will not much hinder the sight will save the face, and at night any smoake will secure a man.

¹ Thin silk or gauze muslin. The word is a variant of Epiphany, and means originally a thin silk for a holiday use.

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The reason of the aboundance of these creatures, I take to be the woods which hinders the aire, for I have observed all-waies when the winde did blow but a little, we were not much troubled with them.

And I verily thinke that if there were a good number of people planted together, and that the woods were cut downe, the earth were tilled, and the rubbish which lieth on the ground wherein they breed were burnt, and that there were many chimneys smoaking, such small creatures would doe but little hurt.

Another evill or inconvenience I see there, the snow in winter did lie very long upon the ground.

But I understand that all the parts of Christendome were troubled with a cold winter so well as wee. Yet would I aske any man what hurt snow doeth? The husbandman will say that Corne is the better for it. And I hope Cattell may bee as well fed in the house there as in ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and other Countries, and he is but an ill husband that cannot find employments for his servants within doores for that time. As for Wives and Children if they bee wise they will keepe themselves close by a good fire, and for men they will have no occasion to ride to Faires or Markets, SYSSSES¹ or Sessions, only Hawkes and Hounds will not then be usefull.

Yet let me tell you that it is still almost Christmas before there be any winter there, so that the cold time doth not continue long.

And by all reason that Countrey should be hotter then England, being many Degrees farther from the North Pole.

And thus according to my poore understanding I have given you the best information I can of the people and Country, commodities and discommodities. Now give mee leave to oppose myselfe against the man beforementioned, and others, who speaks against the Country, and plantations in those parts,

¹ Assizes.

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and to set down such objections as I have heard them make, and my answers, and afterward let wisdom judge: for my desire is, that the saddle may be set on the right horse, and the Asse may be rid, and the knave punished, either for discouraging or encouraging too much, whosoever he be.

Chapter V.

[This chapter was erroneously numbered V instead of IV in the original.]

Certain objections and answers, with sufficient proves how it may be exceeding profitable to the Commonwealth and all planters and adventurers.

They say the Country is good for nothing but to starve so many people as comes in it.

It is granted that some have been starved to death, and others have hardly escaped, but where was the fault, in the Country or in themselves. That the Country is as I have said, I can bring 100 men to justify it; but if men be neither industrious nor provident, they may starve in the best place of the world. About two yeares since one Mr. *Weston* sent over about 50 persons to plant, with little provision; when they came there, they neither applied themselves to planting of corne nor taking of fish, more then for their present use, but went about to build Castles in the Aire, and making of Forts, neglecting the plentiful time of fishing. When Winter came their forts would not keepe out hunger, and they having no provision beforehand, and wanting both powder and shot to kill Deare and Fowle, many were starved to death, and the rest hardly escaped. There are foure of his men which escaped, now at my plantation, who have related unto me the whole businesse.

Again, this last yeare there went over diverse at one time, and to one place, with too little provision, some of them are dead, yet I cannot heare of any that were meereley starved, ex-

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cept one whose name was *Chapman*, a *Londoner*, and whether he was starved or no is uncertaine; but if he were, God's iust iudgement did appeare. For this man (as I am told, by an honest man, who came from *London* with him) brought at the least 80 pound worth of provision, and no more but himselfe and two servants, which was sufficient for at the least 18 moneths, if it had been well used. And yet in 5 moneths after his arivall in New England he dyed miserably.

Let me tell you a strange thing of this man (I have it but by relation from one of his companions) he payed for his passage, and his mens, and provision, so that he needed not to have spent anything until his arivall in New England, yet would he at *Plimoth* (where the ship stayed too long for him and others,) spend seven or eight pound a week in wine, Tobacco, and whores, and for the maintaining of this expence he daily fetched his provision from aboard, and sold it at a low rate. And when they were at Sea, his Tobacco being spent, he gave usually sixpence for a pipe; he gave also a sute of cloaths, valewd to be worth 50 shillings, for so much Tobacco as was not worth halfe a crowne. Nay at last, as his Comrade told me, he was glad to become servant to one of his servants. Then his Master told him, that if hee would work hee would allow him one bisket cake a day, if not he should have but halfe a cake. He made choice of halfe a cake, without work; and so a base lazie fellow made a lamentable end. Where was the fault now, in the men, or the Country?

Another objection which I have met with is this: That there is nothing got or saved by sending men over to plant; neither is it beneficiall either to private men, either Adventurer or Planter, or good for the Commonwealth.

For answer hereunto, first for matter of profite, it is well knowne to all the Marchants of the West Country, who have left almost all other trade but this, and yet is growne rich thereby.

Secondly, for the Common-wealth consider these things:

1. The great complaint that hath for a long time been made in *England*, that our land is overburthened with people, and that there is no imployment for our men; so that it is likely they must either starve, steale, or prove mutinous. And whether plantations be a meanes to help this inconvenience or no, I desire to know?

It hath beene likewise said unto me, that it benefits the Common-wealth nothing at all to send men over with provision of cloathes victualls, and continuall supplies.

To that I say, let such men as you send thither to plant have provision as *Chapman* had for 18 monthes, and if after they cannot live of themselves, let them dye *Chapmans* death.

Againe Plantations may be beneficiall to the Common-wealth, by the enlargement of his Majesties Dominions.

Againe by the increase of Shipping, (which is the strength of a Nation,) and that without wasting of our timber which is a commoditie that I fear *England* will find the want off before many yeares passe over, for if timber goe to decay as now it doth, we shall scarce have any to build, or repare, Ships or houses. Againe tell me whether it would be benefitall to the Common-wealth to have all our idle persons kept to worke and our populous Nation disburthened, and yet to have them ready to serve our King and Countrey upon all occasions.

Lastly, tell me whither it would be benefitall to the Commonwealth to have all poore people maintained out of those Artes. And everie parrish freed from their weekely paiments to the poore, which if I doe make to appeare, then let me be accounted an unworthy fellow. But first let me set down another objection, which seemes to be of great force, and yet in my conceit is like the rest, shallow and that is this:

If say they there be so many plantations, there will be no roome in the Countrey for such Ships as doe come yearely to make voiaages, and by this meanes Shippes shall lye still and

decay, Marriners and Fishermen shall want imployment, and all will be out of frame if ever we shall have warres. And therefore howsoever it may be benefitall to some few persons, yet it will be hurtful to the Common-wealth. And consequently all such as have any hand in such businesses are evill members in the Common-wealth.

I answere that if these things were thoroughly examined by his Majestie, the Parliament or Counsell Table, it would plainly appeare, that the most of them which keepe such adoe against Plantations, are the greatest enimies to the publique good, and that their shew of care for the Commō-wealth is nothing but a colour, for the more cleanly concealing of their unknowne profits. It will also appeare that plantations are for the publique good and by that meanes there shall be more and better cheape Shippes built, and imployed, more Mariners and Fishermen kept to worke than now there are, and more people pertakers of the benefits than now there doth.

Which I prove thus, first there may be Timber had to build Shippes, and ground for Corne and keeping of Cattel, and all for little or nothing.

Secondly, there may bee more men trained up in fishing than now there is, whose trade is decaied in *England*, and they ready to sterve for want of imployments.

Thirdly, there may bee twice so much fish taken every yeare as now there is. For Shippes that goe to make Voyages seldome or never keep their boats at Sea above two Months or ten weekes, for making their Voyage, and I dare maintaine that there is Fish enough to be taken, seven Mounths in the yeare if men be there ready to take all opportunities.

Fourthly, the more Fish that is taken the more Shippes there must be for the transportation of it.

Fiftly, whereas now none doth take the benefite but a few Marchants, not all the Marchants in the Land, no not one of a thousand.

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By Plantations, not onely all the Marchants in the Land, but all the people in the Land may partake thereof.

And now to shew you how the profite may arise.

Chapter VI.

Sheweth how by adventuring of a 100 pounds more or lesse, a man may profite so much every yeare, for 20 yeares or longer, without any more charge then at the first.

I must confesse I have studied no other Art a longe time but the Mysteries of *New Englands* Trade, and I hope at last: I have attained to the understanding of the secrets of it, which I thinke the Fishermen are sorie for. But it shall be no longer concealed, for that I thinke every good subject is bound to preferre the publicke, beforre his own private good.

First therefore, I will shew you the charge which every Marchant is at yearely, in sending their Shipes to fish there, and so neere as I can the profit they make of such Voyages. Then we will see the charge which planters must be at, in sending men over to stay there, and the profit they are likely to make, and so by comparing the one with the other, we shall see which is the better and more profitable course. A Ship of 200 Tunn, commonly doth carrie in those Voyages 50 men, these men are at no charge but 20 shillings a man towards their vittels, neither have they any waiges, but in leiu thereof they have one third part of all the fish and trayne.

Another third part there is allowed the owners of the Shippe for their fraught, and the other third part is allowed for the victuall, salte, nets, hookes, lines and other implements for taking and making the Fish.

The charge of victualling (which is usually for 9 Mounths,) the salte, etc. doth commonly amount to about 800 pounds, and for that they have (as I said) one third part of the Fish which is neere 67 tunne, the Shippe being laden, which will

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make 1340 Kintalls, (at the Market) sometimes when they come to a good Market they sell their Fish for 44 Rials a Kintall, and so to 36 Rials, which is the least, but say they have 40, one time with another, and at that rate one third of that Shippes layding doth yeeld 1340 pounds, which they have for disbursing of 800 pounds nine Mounths.

Now take notice that they are but 8 or 10 weekes in taking all their Fish, and about one Mounth longer in making it fit to be shipped.

Which being considered, then say that such men as are sent over to plant, have 12 Months provisiō, which will amount to 1066 pounds 13 shillings 4 pence, these men stay in the Countrey, and doe take the benefit both of the first and last fishing season, & all other opportunities, the Fishing continuing good at the least seaven Moneths in the yeare, though not all at one time: now I hope you will grant that they are as likelie to take two Shippes lading as the other one, which if they doe, one third thereof at the same rate will amount to 2680 pounds, the charge you are at being deducted, the profit is 1019 pounds 6 shillings 8 pence. Now tell me seriously, which is the more profitable course?

Againe consider, that in all likelihood this Fish is to be taken in 5 Moneths, then have you 7 Moneths more to imploy your men in the Countrey every yeare, about building of Shippes, cleaving of pipe-staves, or any other thing, and will that be worth nothing?

Truely this I will say, send men over but with 18 Moneths provision, and Cattell, and Corne to plant, and other necessities, and they shall afford you thus much profit yearly, without ever putting you to more charge if God blesse them with health, and you from losses, (and I never heard of any great losse by adventuring thither) and that you bee fitted with good and understanding men to over-see the businesse, who is able to direct them.

Chapter VII.

Sheweth how every parish may be freed of their weekly payments to the poore, by the profits which may be fetched thence. With certaine Objections against the things contained in this and the former chapter, with answers thereunto.

And thus have I shewed you what hopes there is of profit by plantations, yet have I shewed you no other meanes to raise it, but by fish and timber. I would not have you say there is nothing else in the Country to make any benefite of; for I assure you it is well knowne to myselfe, and others who have bene there, that there are diverse other good things there to be had; but I doe not love to speake of all at one time, but to reserve some, to stop the mouths of such prating coxcombs as will never be satisfied with any reason, but will alwaies cavill though to little purpose.

And methinks I heare some such people buzzing in some other obiections, and bidding me stay, and not fish before the net, for there are many lets, as these; There are many ships goe, that makes not so good voyages as I speake of; for they are so long beaten in their passage, or on the coast, that the best of the fishing is past before they be there.

To that I answer, I speak not what every ship doth, but what some doe and all others may doe, if they be in the Country to take all opportunities.

2. Obiect. That it is not possible to make Plantations so publicke a businesse, as that it should redound to the benefit of all the Kings Subjects. And againe that there will never be so much money rased as to establish such Plantations, for that most men in this age respects their own profit 100 times more then the publicke good; and their hearts are so glewed to the world, that you shall as soone hang them as draw anything from them, though it be to never so charitable an use. And if

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it should be by way of commandment, it would be a grievance not to be endured.

But I would aske such men whether they be so void of charity, as that they will not doe themselves good, because some others shall have some by it also? And whether they will be grieved at a man for shewing of them how, by the disbursing of 20 shillings, they shall have 20 shillings a year for seven, ten or twenty years, and perhaps for ever?

My desire is not that any should be compelled. Onely this I could wish, that every parish would adventure so much as they pay weekly to the reliefe of the poore (which is no great matter.) And so every shire by itselfe, would send over men to plant. And if after 18 moneths they shall not yearely returne so much profits continually as will keep their poore, and ease their purses, (provided alwaies, as I said before, that they send such men as are fit, and that Iustices of every Shire be carefull to appoint such a man to be their Captaine and Director as is honest, and of good understanding, and that God blesse them from losses,) will I be contented to suffer death.

And yet let me tell you, that if it should please God, that once in seven yeares a ship should bee cast away (which is more than hath beene usuall, for I dare say, there is 100 which commeth safe) yet it is but that yeares profite lost, and perhaps not halfe.

Another obiection may be this, That all men are not Fishermen, and that it is not so easie a thing to take fish, as I make it.

To that I answer, That take a survey of all the men that goeth in these voyages, and there shall not bee found one third of them that are meerly fishermen, and no other Trades.

Nay, I know many ship-Companies, that have amongst them house-Carpenters, Masons, Smiths, Taylors, Shooemakers, and such like, and indeed it is most fit they should be such; and I saw by experience, that divers who were never at

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Sea before this yeare, proved very good fishermen: but I could wish that ever a fift part of a Company be Fishermen, and the rest will quickly be trained up, and made skillfull.

I would to God that some one Shire, or more, would begin this godly and profitable course. For certainly, God hath created all for the use of man, and nothing hath he created in vayne.

And if wee will endure povertie in *England* wilfully, and suffer so good a Countrey as this to lye wast, I am perswaded wee are guiltie of a grievous sinne against God, and shall never be able to answer it.

I could also wish, that the Lords both spirituall and temporall, the Knights and others to whome God hath given abundance of these outward things, would (for the honour of God, the comfort of the poore of our Land) ioyn together, and by a voluntary contribution rayse a summe of money, and imploy it this way; and that the profites might goe to the maintaining of poore children, and trayning them up in this course, by which they may be kept from begging and stealing.

Chapter VIII.

Containes certaine directions for all private persons that intends to goe into New-England to plant.

Next unto this I could wish that every private man that hath a desire this way, would consider these things which I wil heere set downe before he goe too farre, lest he deprive himselfe of the profite I have shewed may be had, and be one of those that repent when it is too late, and so bring misery upon himselfe, and scandalize the Country, as others have done.

I. That it is a Countrey, where none can live except he either labour himselfe, or be able to keepe others to labour for him.

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2. If a man have a wife and many small children, not to come there, except for every three loyterers he have one worker; which if he have, he may make a shift to live and not starve.

3. If a man have but as many good labourers as loyterers, he shall live much better there then in any place I know.

4. If all be labourers, and no children, then let him not feare, but to doe more good there in seven yeares then in England in twenty.

5. Let no man goe without 18 moneths provision, so shall he take the benefit of two seasons before his provision be spent.

6. Let as many plant together as may be, for you will finde that very comfortable, profitable and secure.

XI.

THE ACCOUNT OF NEW ENGLAND CONTAINED IN JOHN SMITH'S "GENERALL HISTORIE OF VIRGINIA" (PUBLISHED IN 1624), WITH NOTES FROM HIS PREVIOUS WORK, "NEW ENGLAND'S TRIALS."



HE crowning service of Captain John Smith to the cause of English colonization in America was the production of the "Generall Historie of Virginia, the Somer Isles, and New England." He planned the work in 1621, before he brought out the second edition of "New England's Trials," which was dated 1622. The prospectus of the work, containing a description of its scope, the table of contents, and an appeal for subscriptions, was circulated in 1623.

It was published in July, 1624, a few weeks after the London Virginia Company was dissolved. The bankruptcy of that company and the impotence of the Council for New England, as shown by the failure of Gorges' large projects, rendered such a publication especially serviceable to the two considerable colonies, Virginia and Plymouth. Smith was always the champion of the actual settler. He covertly censured the

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merely speculative Patentee, altho he was politic in his allusions to the magnates of either of the great Companies, and probably kept on good terms with them all. The whole "History" is an argument to show how a colony may be made to thrive.

The sixth and last book of the history is devoted to New England. It contains a reprint of Smith's "Description of New England," of 1616, and of his "New England's Trials," of 1620 and 1622. It also comprises extracts from Dr. J. Dee's "British Monarchy," 1577, from Captain Richard Whitbourne's¹ "Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland with many reasons to prove how worthy and beneficiall a plantation may there be made," 1620, (with revised and enlarged editions in 1622 and 1623,) from (G. Mourt)'s "Relation or Journal,"² 1622, and from E. Winslow's "Good News from New England,"³ 1624.

The history contained six maps, including the famous map of New England which had first appeared with the "Description." It also contained portraits of Pocahontas and of the Duchess of Richmond, who was a generous subscriber, as shown by Smith's dedicatory preface.

A second edition of the History appeared in 1626 and another in 1627. The interval between the first and second editions, 1624-1626, was apparently em-

¹ Smith writes "Capt. Charles Whitbourne," evidently an error.

² "G. Mourt" may have been George Morton. Winsor believes that the Relation was probably the joint production of Bradford and Winslow. It tells the story of Plymouth from September, 1620, to December, 1621.

³ Winslow's narrative covers the period from November, 1621, to September 10, 1623.

ployed by Smith in the composition of a small treatise on seamanship, nautical terms, and naval gunnery, which was first published in 1626,—“An Accidence or the Pathway to Experience. Necessary for all Young Seamen etc.” This also appeared in a second edition in 1627, under the title “The Seaman’s Grammar.”

An abridged account of Captain Smith’s life was printed by Smith’s friend Purchas in his “Pilgrims,” 1625. The abridgment was made from an Italian history, but must have had Smith’s approval. He published his autobiography in complete form in 1630, and called it “The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Capt. John Smith.” This work contained a continuation of the General History from 1624 to 1629.

The Generall Historie
of
Virginia, New England
&
The Summer Iles

Together with
The True Travels, Adventures
and Observations, and
A Sea Grammar

By
CAPTAINE JOHN SMITH
Sometymes Governour in those Countreyes
and Admirall of New England

PANEGYRICK VERSES.

*To his friend Captaine Smith, upon his description
of New-England.*

SIR; your Relations I have read : which shew,
Ther's reason I should honour them and you :
And if their meaning I have understood,
I dare to censure thus: Your Project's good ;
And may (if follow'd) doubtlesse quit the paine,
With honour, pleasure and a trebble gaine ;
Beside the benefit that shall arise
To make more happy our Posterities.

For would we daigne to spare, though 'twere no more
Then what ore-fils, and surfets us in store,
To order Nature's fruitfulnessse a while
In that rude Garden, you New-England stile ;
With present good, ther's hope in after-daies
Thence to repaire what Time and Pride decaies
In this rich Kingdome. And the spacious West
Being still more with English blood possest,
The proud Iberians shall not rule those Seas,
To checke our ships from sailing where they please ;
Nor future times make any forraine power
Become so great to force a bound to Our.

Much good my minde foretels would follow hence
With little labour, and with lesse expence.
Thrive therefore thy Designe, who ere envy :
England may joy in England's Colony,
Virginia seeke her Virgin sisters good,
Be blessed in such happy neighbourhood :

Or whatsoere Fate pleaseth to permit,
Be thou still honour'd for first moving it.

George Wither, è societate Lincol.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

*To that worthy and generous Gentleman, my very good friend,
Captaine Smith.*

May Fate thy Project prosper, that thy name
May be eternized with living fame:
Though foule Detraction Honour would pervert,
And Envie ever waits upon desert:
In spite of Pelias, when his hate lies cold,
Returne as Jason with a fleece of gold.

Then after-ages shall record thy praise,
That a New-England to this Ile didst raise:
And when thou di'st (as all that live must die)
Thy fame live here; thou, with Eternity.

R. Gunnell.

To his worthy Captaine, the Author.

Oft thou hast led, when I brought up the Rere
In bloody wars, where thousands have beene slaine.
Then give me leave in this some part to beare;
And as thy servant, here to reade my name.

Tis true, long time thou hast my Captaine beene
In the fierce warres of Transilvania:

Long ere that thou America hadst seene,
Or wast led captiv'd in Virginia;

Thou that to passe the worlds foure parts dost deeme
No more, then t'were to goe to bed, or drinke,

And all thou yet hast done, thou dost esteeme
As nothing. This doth cause me thinke

That thou I've seene so oft approv'd in dangers,
(And thrice captiv'd, thy valour still hath freed)

Art yet preserved, to convert those strangers:
By God thy guide I trust it is decreed.

JOHN SMITH'S HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND

For me: I not commend but much admire
Thy England yet unknowne to passers by-her.
For it will praise it selfe in spight of me;
Thou it, it thou, to all posterity.
Your true friend and souldier, Ed. Robinson.

To my honest Captaine, the Author.

Malignant Times! What can be said or done,
But shall be censur'd and traduc't by some!
This worthy Worke, which thou hast bought so deare,
Ne thou, nor it, Detractors need to feare.
Thy words by deeds so long thou hast approv'd,
Of thousands know thee not thou art belov'd.
And this great Plot will make thee ten times more
Knowne and belov'd, than ere thou wert before.
I never knew a Warriar yet, but thee,
From wine, Tobacco, debts, dice, oaths, so free.
I call thee Warriar: and I make the bolder;
For, many a Captaine now, was never Souldier.
Some such may swell at this: but (to their praise)
When they have done like thee, my Muse shall raise
Their due deserts to Worthies yet to come,
To live like thine (admir'd) till day of Doome.
Your true friend, sometimes your souldier,
Tho. Carlton.

[Captain Smith says that these two soldiers were the only Englishmen out of twelve to escape from the battlefield of Rothenthurm in Transylvania, November 18, 1602; where Smith himself was wounded and taken prisoner by the Turks.¹]

¹ Cf. chapter XI of "The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations."

THE SIXTH BOOKE.

THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF NEW-ENGLAND.

Concerning this History you are to understand the Letters-Patents granted by his Majesty in 1606. for the limitation of Virginia, did extend from 34. to 44. which was divided in two parts; namely, the first Colony and the second: the first was to the honourable City of London, and such as would adventure with them to discover and take their choice where they would, betwixt the degrees of 34. and 41. The second was appropriated to the Cities of Bristol, Exeter and Plimoth, &c. and the West parts of England, and all those that would adventure and joine with them, and they might make their choise any where betwixt the degrees of 38. and 44. provided there should bee at least 100. miles distance betwixt these 2 Colonies, each of which had lawes, privileges and authoritie, for the government and advancing their severall Plantations alike. Now this part of America hath formerly beene called Norumbega, Virginia, Nuskoncus, Penaquida, Cannada, and such other names as those that ranged the Coast pleased. But because it was so mountainous, rocky and full of Iles, few have adventured much to trouble it, but as is formerly related; notwithstanding, that honourable Patron of vertue, Sir John Popham, Lord chiefe Justice of England, in the yeere 1606. procured meanes and men to possesse it, and sent Captaine George Popham for President, Captaine Rawley Gilbert for Admirall, Captaine Edward Harlow master of the Ordnance, Captaine Robert Davis Sargeant-Major, Captaine Elis Best Marshall, Master Seaman Secretary, Captaine James Davis to be Captaine of the Fort, Master Gome Carew chiefe Searcher: all those were of the Councell, who with some hundred more were to stay in the Country: they set saile from Plimoth the last of May, and

*Sir Francis
Popham
Treasurer.*

fell with Monahigan the eleventh of August. At Sagadahock 9. or 10. leagues southward, they planted themselves at the mouth of a faire navigable River, but the coast all thereabouts most extreme stony and rocky: that extreme frozen Winter was so cold they could not range nor search the Country, and their provision so small, they were glad to send all but 45. of their company backe againe: their noble President Captaine Popham died, and not long after arrived two ships well provided of all necessaries to supply them, and some small time after another, by whom understanding of the death of the Lord chiefe Justice, and also of Sir John Gilbert, whose lands there the President Rawley Gilbert was to possesse according to the adventurers directions, finding nothing but extreme extremities, they all returned for England in the yeere 1608. and thus this Plantation was begunne and ended in one yeere, and the Country esteemed as a cold, barren, mountainous, rocky Desart.

Notwithstanding, the right Honourable Henry Earle of South-hampton and those of the Ile of Wight, employed Captaine Edward Harlow to discover an Ile supposed about Cape Cod, but they found their plots had much abused them, for falling with Monahigan, they found onely Cape Cod no Ile but the maine, there they detained three Salvages aboard them; called Pechmo, Monopet and Pekenimne, but Pechmo leapt over board, and got away; and not long after with his consorts cut their Boat from their sterne, got her on shore, and so filled her with sand, and guarded her with Bowes and Arrowes the English lost her: not farre from thence they had three men sorely wounded with Arrowes. Anchoring at the Ile of No-hono, the Salvages in their Canowes assaulted the Ship till the English Guns made them retire, yet here they tooke Sakaweston, that after he had lived many yeeres in England went a Souldier to the warres of Bohemia. At Capawe they tooke Coneconam and Epenow, but the people at Agawom used them kindly, so with five Salvages they returned for England,

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yet Sir Francis Popham sent divers times one Captaine Williams to Monahigan onely to trade and make core fish, but for any Plantations there was no more speeches. For all this, as I liked Virginia well, though not their proceedings, so I desired also to see this country, and spend some time in trying what I could finde for all those ill rumors and disasters.

From the relations of Captaine Edward Harlow and divers others.

*My first
voyage to
New
England.
1614.*

In the month of Aprill 1614. at the charge of Capt. Marmaduke Roydon, Capt. George Langam, Mr. John Buley and Mr. William Skelton, with two ships from London, I chanced to arrive at Monahigan an Ile of America, in $43^{\circ} 40'$ of Northerly latitude; our plot was there to take Whales, for which we had one Samuel Cramton and divers others expert in that faculty, & also to make trialls of a Mine of gold & copper; if those failed, Fish and Furs were then our refuge to make our selves savers howsoever:¹ we found this Whale-fishing a costly conclusion, we saw many and spent much time in chasing them, but could not kill any. They being a kinde of Jubartes, and not the Whale that yeelds Fins and Oile as we expected; for our gold it was rather the Masters device to get a voyage that projected it, then any knowledge he had at all of any such matter; Fish and Furs were now our guard, & by our late arrivall and long lingring about the Whale, the prime of both those seasons were past ere wee perceived it, wee thinking that their seasons served at all times, but we found it otherwise, for by the middest of June the fishing failed, yet in July and August some were taken, but not sufficient to defray so great a charge as our stay required: of dry fish we made about forty thousand, of Cor-fish about seven thousand. Whilest the Sailers fished, my selfe with eight others of them might best

¹ *I.e.*, to make ourselves safe from loss, if possible.

bee spared, ranging the Coast in a small Boat, we got for trifles neere eleven thousand Bever skinnes, one hundred Martins, as many Otters, and the most of them within the distance of twenty leagues: we ranged the Coast both East and West much further, but Eastward our commodities were not esteemed, they were so neere the French who afforded them better, with whom the Salvages had such commerce that only by trade they made exceeding great voyages, though they were without the limits of our precincts; during the time we tried those conclusions, not knowing the coast, nor Salvages habitations: with these Furres, the traine Oile and Cor-fish, I returned for England in the Barke, where within six moneths after our departure from the Downes, wee safely arrived backe; the best of this fish was sold for 5. li. the hundred, the rest by ill usage betwixt three pounds and 50. shillings. The other ship stayed to fit her selfe for Spaine with the dry fish which was sold at Maligo¹ at forty Rialls the Quintall, each hundred weighing two quintals and a halfe. But one Thomas Hunt the Master of this ship (when I was gone) thinking to prevent that intent I had to make there a Plantation, thereby to keepe this abounding Countrey still in obscuritie, that onely he and some few Merchants more might enjoy wholly the benefit of the Trade, and profit of this Countrey, betraied foure and twenty of those poore Salvages aboard his ship, and most dishonestly and inhumanely for their kinde usage of me and all our men, caried them with him to Maligo, and there for a little private gaine sold those silly Salvages for Rials of eight; but this vilde act kept him ever after from any more imploiment to those parts. Now because at this time I had taken a draught of the Coast, and called it New England, yet so long he and his Consorts drowned that name with the Eccho of Cannaday, and some other ships from other parts also that upon this good returne the next yeere went thither, that at last

The commodities I got amounted to 1500. pounds.

The trechery of Master Hunt.

¹ Malaga.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

I presented this Discourse with the Map, to our most gracious Prince Charles, humbly intreating his Highnesse hee would please to change their barbarous names for such English, as posteritie might say Prince Charles was their God-father, which for your better understanding both of this Discourse and the Map, peruse this Schedule, which will plainly shew you the correspondency of the old names to the new, as his Highnesse named them.

How Prince Charles called the most remarkable places in New England.

The old names.

Cape Cod.
 The Harbor at Cape Cod.
 Chawum.
 Accomack.
 Sagoquas.
 Massachusetts Mount.
 Massachusits River.
 Totan.
 A great bay by Cape Anne.
 Cape Tragabigsanda.
 Naembeck.
 Aggawom.
 Smiths Iles.
 Passataquack.
 Accominticus.
 Sassanows Mount.
 Sowocatuck.
 Bahanna.
 A good Harbor within that Bay.
 Ancociscos Mount.
 Ancocisco.
 Anmoughcawgen.
 Kenebecka.
 Sagadahock.

The new names.

Cape James.
 Milforth Haven.
 Barwick.
 Plimoth.
 Oxford.
 Chevit hills.
 Charles River.
 Famouth.
 Bristow.
 Cape Anne.
 Bastable.
 Southampton.
 Smiths Iles.
 Hull.
 Boston.
 Snowdon hill.
 Ipswich.
 Dartmouth.
 Sandwich.
 Shuters hill.
 The Base.
 Cambridge.
 Edenborow.
 Leth.

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The old names.

Pemmayquid.

Segocket.

Mecadacut.

Pennobscot.

Nusket.

The new names.

S. Johns towne.

Norwich.

Dunbarton.

Aberden.

Low mounds.

Those being omitted I named my selfe.

Monahigan.

Matinack.

Metinacus.

Barties Iles.

Willowbies Iles.

Haughtons Iles.

The rest of the names in the Map, are places that had
no names we did know.

But to continue the History succeedingly as neere with the day and yeere as may bee. Returning in the Barke as is said; it was my ill chance to put in at Plimoth, where imparting those my purposes to divers I thought my friends, whom as I supposed were interested in the dead Patent of this unregarded Countrey, I was so encouraged and assured to have the managing their authoritie in those parts during my life, and such large promises, that I ingaged my selfe to undertake it for them. Arriving at London, though some malicious persons suggested there was no such matter to be had in that so bad abandoned Countrey, for if there had, other could have found it so well as I; therefore it was to be suspected I had robbed the French men in New France or Cannada, and the Merchants set me forth seemed not to regard it, yet I found so many promised me such assistance, that I entertained Michael Cooper the Master of the Barke, that returned with me and others of the Company: how he dealt with others, or others with him, I know not; but my publike proceeding gave such encouragement, that it became so well apprehended by some few of the Virginia

*Aspersions
against New
England.*

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

*Captaine
Hobson his
voiage to
Capawuk.*

Company, as those projects for fishing onely was so well liked, they furnished Couper with foure good ships to Sea, before they at Plimoth had made any provision at all for me; but onely a small Barke set out by them of the Ile of Wight, some of Plimoth, and divers Gentlemen of the West Countrey, a little before I returned from New England, in search for a Mine of Gold about an Ile called Capawuck, Southwards from the Shoules of Cape James, as they were informed by a Salvage called Epenew;¹ that having deluded them as it seems thus to get home, seeing they kept him as a prisoner in his owne Countrey, and before his friends, being a man of so great a stature, he was shewed up and downe London for money as a wonder, and it seemes of no lesse courage and authoritie, then of wit, strength, and proportion: for so well he had contrived his businesse, as many reported he intended to have surprised the ship; but seeing it could not be effected to his liking, before them all he leaped over-boord. Many shot they made at him, thinking they had slaine him, but so resolute they were to recover his body, the master of the ship was wounded, and many of his company; And thus they lost him, & not knowing more what to do, returned againe to England with nothing, which so had discouraged all your West Countrey men, they neither regarded much their promises, and as little either me or the Countrey, till they saw the London ships gone and me in Plimoth according to my promise, as hereafter shall be related.

*The Lon-
doners send
foure good
ships to New
England.*

I must confesse I was beholden to the setters forth of the foure ships that went with Couper, in that they offered me that imploiment if I would accept it; and I finde still my refusall incurred some of their displeasures, whose love and favour I exceedingly desired; and though they doe censure me opposite to their proceedings, they shall yet still in all my words and deeds finde, it is their error, not my fault that occasions their dislike: for having ingaged my selfe in this businesse to the

¹ See *supra*, p. 573, Captain Nicholas Hobson's voyage, 1614.

West Countrey, I had beene very dishonest to have broke my promise, nor will I spend more time in discovery or fishing, till I may goe with a Company for a Plantation; for I know my grounds, yet every one to whom I tell them, or that reads this Booke, cannot put it in practise, though it may helpe any that hath seene or not seene to know much of those parts: And though they endeavour to worke me out of my owne designs, I will not much envy their fortunes: but I would be sorry their intruding ignorance should by their defaultments bring those certainties to doubtfulnessse. So that the businesse prosper I have my desire, be it by whomsoever that are true subjects to our King and Countrey: the good of my Countrey is that I seeke, and there is more then enough for all, if they could be contented.

New England is that part of America in the Ocean Sea, opposite to Nova Albion in the South Sea, discovered by the most memorable Sir Francis Drake in his Voyage about the world, in regard whereof this is stiled New England, being in the same latitude. New France is Northwards of it, Southwards is Virginia and all the adjoyning continent with new Granado, new Spaine, new Andolosia, and the West-Indies. Now because I have beene so oft asked such strange questions of the goodnesse and greatnesse of those spacious Tracts of Land, how they can be thus long unknowne, or not possessed by the Spaniards, and many such like demands: I intreat your pardons if I chance to be too plaine or tedious in relating my knowledge for plaine mens satisfaction.

Florida is the next adjoyning to the Indies, which unprosperously was attempted to be planted by the French, a Countrey farre bigger then England, Scotland, France and Ireland, yet little knowne to any Christian, but by the wonderfull endeavours of Ferdinando de Soto, a valiant Spaniard, whose writings in this age is the best guide knowne to search those parts.

The situation of New England.

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Virginia is no Ile as many doe imagine, but part of the Continent adjoyning to Florida, whose bounds may be stretched to the magnitude thereof, without offence to any Christian Inhabitant, for from the degrees of thirtie to forty eight, his Majesty hath now enlarged his Letters Patents. The Coast extending South-west and North-east about sixteene or seventeene hundred miles, but to follow it aboard the shore may well be three thousand miles at the least: of which twentie miles is the most [that] gives entrance into the Bay of Chisapeacke, where is the London Plantation, within which is a Countrey, as you may perceive by the Map, of that little I discovered, may well suffice three hundred thousand people to inhabit: but of it, and the discoveries of Sir Ralph Laine and Master Heriot, Captaine Gosnold, and Captaine Waymouth, they have writ so largely, that posteritie may be bettered by the fruits of their labours. But for divers others that have ranged those parts since, especially this Countrey now called New England, within a kenning^x sometimes of the shore; some touching in one place, some in another; I must intreat them pardon me for omitting them, or if I offend in saying, that their true descriptions were concealed, or never were well observed, or died with the Authors, so that the Coast is yet still but even as a Coast unknowne and undiscovered. I have had six or seven severall plots of those Northerne parts, so unlike each to other, or resemblance of the Country, as they did me no more good then so much waste paper, though they cost me more, it may bee it was not my chance to see the best; but lest others may be deceived as I was, or through dangerous ignorance hazard themselves as I did, I have drawne a Map from point to point, Ile to Ile, and Harbour to Harbour, with the Soundings, Sands, Rocks, and Land-markes, as I passed close aboard the shore in a little Boat; although there bee many things to bee observed, which the haste of other affaires did cause me to omit: for being sent

^x Range of possible vision at sea, about twenty miles.

more to get present Commodities, then knowledge of any discoveries for any future good, I had not power to search as I would; yet it will serve to direct any shall goe that waies to safe Harbours and the Salvages habitations: what Merchandize and Commodities for their labours they may finde, this following discourse shall plainly demonstrate.

Thus you may see of these three thousand miles, more then halfe is yet unknowne to any purpose, no not so much as the borders of the Sea are yet certainly discovered: as for the goodnesse and true substance of the Land, we are for most part yet altogether ignorant of them, unlesse it be those parts about the Bay of Chisapeack and Sagadahock, but onely here and there where we have touched or seene a little, the edges of those large Dominions which doe stretch themselves into the maine, God doth know how many thousand miles, whereof we can yet no more judge, then a stranger that saileth betwixt England and France, can describe the harbours and dangers by landing here or there in some River or Bay, [or] tell thereby the goodnesse and substance of Spaine, Italy, Germany, Bohemia, Hungaria, and the rest; nay, there are many have lived fortie yeeres in London, and yet have scarce beene ten miles out of the Citie: so are there many have beene in Virginia many yeeres, and in New England many times, that doe know little more then the place they doe inhabit, or the Port where they fished, and when they come home, they will undertake they know all Virginia and New England, as if they were but two Parishes or little Ilands. By this you may perceive how much they erre, that thinke every one that hath beene in Virginia or New England, understandeth or knoweth what either of them are; Or that the Spaniards know one halfe quarter of those large Territories they pössesse, no not so much as the true circumference of Terra incognita, whose large Dominions may equalize the goodnesse and greatnesse of America for any thing yet knowne. It is strange with what small power

*Observations for pre-
sumptuous
ignorant
directors.*

he¹ doth range in the East-Indies, and few will understand the truth of his strength in America: where having so much to keepe with such a pampered force, they need not greatly feare his fury in Sommer Iles, Virginia, or New England, beyond whose bounds America doth stretch many thousand miles. Into the frozen parts whereof, one Master Hutson an English Mariner, did make the greatest discoverie of any Christian I know, where hee unfortunately was left by his cowardly Company, for his exceeding deserts, to end and die a most miserable death.

For Affrica, had not the industrious Portugals ranged her unknowne parts, who would have sought for wealth amongst those fried Regions of blacke brutish Negars, where notwithstanding all their wealth and admirable adventures and endevours more then one hundred and fortie yeeres, they know not one third part of those blacke habitations. But it is not a worke for every one to manage such an affaire, as make a discovery and plant a Colony, it requires all the best parts of art, judgement, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence, and industry, to doe but neere well; some are more proper for one thing then another, and therein best to be imployed; and nothing breeds more confusion then misplacing and misimploying men in their undertakings. Columbus, Courtes, Pitzara, Zoto, Magilanus, and the rest served more then a Prentiship, to learne how to begin their most memorable attempts in the West-Indies, which to the wonder of all ages successefully they effected, when many hundreds of others farre above them in the worlds opinion, being instructed but by relation, came to shame and confusion in actions of small moment, who doubtlesse in other matters were both wise, discreet, generous and couragious. I say not this to detract any thing from their incomparable merits, but to answer those questionlesse questions, that keepe us backe from imitating the worthinesse of their brave spirits,

¹ *I.e.*, the Spaniard.

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that advanced themselves from poore Souldiers to great Capitaines, their posterity to great Lords, their King to be one of the greatest Potentates on earth, and the fruits of their labours his greatest power, glory and renowne.

The Description of New England.

That part we call New England, is betwixt the degrees of fortie one and fortie five, the very meane betwixt the North pole and the line; but that part this Discourse speaketh of, stretcheth but from Penobscot to Cape Cod, some seventie five leagues by a right line distant each from other; within which bounds I have seene at least fortie severall habitations upon the Sea Coast, and sounded about five and twentie excellent good Harbours, in many whereof there is anchorage for five hundred saile of ships of any burden; in some of them for one thousand, and more then two hundred Iles over-growne with good Timber of divers sorts of wood, which doe make so many Harbours, as required a longer time then I had to be well observed.

The principall habitation Northward we were at, was Penobscot: Southward along the Coast and up the Rivers, we found Mecadacut, Segocket, Pemaquid, Nuscoucus, Sagadahock, Avmoughcowgen, and Kenebeke; and to those Countries belong the people of Segotago, Paghhuntanuck, Pecopassum, Taughtanakagnet, Warbigganus, Nassaque, Masherosqueck, Wawrigweck, Moshoquen, Wakcogo, Pasharanack, &c. To these are alied in confederacy, the Countries of Ancocisco, Accomynticus, Passataquack, Aggawom, and Naemkeek: All these for any thing I could perceive, differ little in language, fashion, or government, though most of them be Lords of themselves, yet they hold the Bashabes of Penobscot, the chiefe and greatest amongst them.

The principall Countries or governments.

The next I can remember by name, are Mattahunts, two pleasant Iles of Groves, Gardens, and Corne fields a league

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in the Sea from the maine: Then Totant, Massachuset, Topent, Secassaw, Totheet, Nasrocomacack, Accomack, Chawum, Patuxet, Massasoyts, Pakanokick: then Cape Cod, by which is Pawmet and the Ile Nawset, of the language and aliance of them of Chawum; the others are called Massachuset, and differ somewhat in language, custome, and condition: for their Trade and Merchandize, to each of their principall families or habitations, they have divers Townes and people belonging, and by their relations and descriptions, more then twentie severall habitations and rivers that stretch themselves farre into the Countrey, even to the Borders of divers great Lakes, where they kill and take most of their Otters, from Pennobscot to Sagadahoc. This Coast is mountainous, and Iles of huge Rockes, but over-growne for most part, with most sorts of excellent good woods, for building Houses, Boats, Barks, or Ships, with an incredible abundance of most sorts of Fish, much Fowle, and sundry sorts of good Fruits for mans use.

Betwixt Sagadahock, & Sowocatuck, there is but two or three Sandy Bayes, but betwixt that and Cape James very many: especially the Coast of the Massachuset is so indifferently mixed with high Clay or Sandy clifts in one place, and the tracts of large long ledges of divers sorts, and Quarries of stones in other places, so strangely divided with tintured veines of divers colours: as Free-stone for building, Slate for tiling, smooth stone to make Furnasses and Forges for Glasse and Iron, and Iron Ore sufficient conveniently to melt in them; but the most part so resembleth the Coast of Devonshire, I thinke most of the clifts would make such Lime-stone: if they bee not of these qualities, they are so like they may deceive a better judgement then mine: all which are so neere adjoyning to those other advantages I observed in these parts, that if the Ore prove as good Iron and Steele in those parts as I know it is within the bounds of the Countrey, I dare ingage my head (having but men skilfull to worke the Simples there growing) to

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have all things belonging to the building and rigging of ships of any proportion and good Merchandise for their fraught, within a square of ten or foureteene leagues, and it were no hard matter to prove it within a lesse limitation.

And surely by reason of those sandy cliffs, and cliffs of rocks, both which we saw so planted with Gardens and Corne fields, and so well inhabited with a goodly, strong, and well proportioned people, besides the greatnesse of the Timber growing on them, the greatnesse of the Fish, and the moderate temper of the aire (for of five and forty not a man was sicke, but two that were many yeares diseased before they went, notwithstanding our bad lodging and accidentall diet) who can but approve this a most excellent place, both for health and fertilitie: and of all the foure parts of the world I have yet seene not inhabited, could I have but means to transport a Colony, I would rather live here then any where, and if it did not maintaine it selfe, were we but once indifferently well fitted, let us starve.

*A prooffe of
an excellent
clime.*

The maine staple from hence to bee extracted for the present, to produce the rest, is Fish, which howbeit may seeme a meane and a base Commodity; yet who will but truly take the paines and consider the sequell, I thinke will allow it well worth the labour. It is strange to see, what great adventures the hopes of setting forth men of warre to rob the industrious innocent would procure, or such massie promises in grosse, though more are choaked then well fed with such hastie hopes. But who doth not know that the poore Hollanders chiefly by fishing at a great charge and labour in all weathers in the open Sea, are made a people so hardy and industrious, and by the venting this poore Commodity to the Easterlings for as meane,¹ which is Wood, Flax, Pitch, Tarre, Rozen, Cordage, and such like; which they exchange againe to the French, Spaniards, Portugals, and English, &c. for what they want, are made so mighty, strong, and rich, as no state but Venice of twice their

*Staple Com-
modities
present.*

*Observa-
tions of the
Hollanders.*

¹ *I.e.*, for as mean a commodity as fish.

magnitude is so well furnished, with so many faire Cities, goodly Townes, strong Fortresses, and that abundance of shipping, and all sorts of Merchandize, as well of Gold, Silver, Pearles, Diamonds, pretious Stones, Silkes, Velvets, and Cloth of Gold; as Fish, Pitch, Wood, or such grosse Commodities? What voyages and discoveries, East and West, North and South, yea about the world, make they? What an Army by Sea and Land have they long maintained, in despight of one of the greatest Princes of the world, and never could the Spaniard with all his Mines of Gold and Silver, pay his debts, his friends, and Army, halfe so truly as the Hollanders still have done by this contemptible Trade of Fish. Divers (I know) may alleage many other assistances; but this is the chieftest Mine, and the Sea the source of those silver streames of all their vertue, which hath made them now the very miracle of industry, the onely paterne of perfection for these affaires: and the benefit of fishing is that *Primum Mobile* that turnes all their spheares to this height of plentie, strength, honor, and exceeding great admiration.

Herring, Cod, and Ling, is that triplicitie, that makes their wealth and shippings multiplicitie such as it is: and from which (few would thinke it) they should draw so many millions yeerely as they doe, as more in particular in the trials of New England¹ you may see; and such an incredible number of ships, that breeds them so many Sailers, Mariners, Souldiers, and Merchants, never to be wrought out of that Trade, and fit for any other. I will not deny but others may gaine as well as they that will use it, though not so certainly, nor so much in quantitie, for want of experience: and this Herring they take upon the Coast of England and Scotland, their Cod and Ling upon the Coast of Izeland, and in the North seas, if wee consider what gaines the Hamburgans, the Biskinners, and French make by fishing; nay, but how many thousands this fiftie or

¹ *I.e.*, Smith's book, "The Trials of New England."

sixty yeeres have beene maintained by New found land, where they take nothing but small Cod, where of the greatest they make Cor-fish, and the rest is hard dried, which we call Poore-John, would amaze a man with wonder. If then from all those parts such paines is taken for this poore gaines of Fish, especially by the Hollanders, that hath but little of their owne, for building of ships and setting them to sea; but at the second, third, fourth, or fift hand, drawne from so many parts of the world ere they come together to be used in those voiaiges: If these (I say) can gaine, why should we more doubt then they; but doe much better, that may have most of all those things at our doores for taking and making, and here are no hard Landlords to racke us with high rents, or extorting fines, nor tedious pleas in Law to consume us with their many yeeres disputation for Justice; no multitudes to occasion such impediments to good orders as in popular States: so freely hath God and his Majestie bestowed those blessings, on them will attempt to obtaine them, as here every man may be master of his owne labour and land, or the greatest part (if his Majesties royall meaning be not abused) and if he have nothing but his hands, he may set up his Trade; and by industry quickly grow rich, spending but halfe that time well, which in England we abuse in idlenesse, worse, or as ill. Here is ground as good as any lieth in the height of forty one, forty two, forty three, &c. which is as temperate, and as fruitfull as any other parallel in the world.

As for example, on this side the line, West of it in the South Sea, is Nova Albion, discovered as is said by Sir Francis Drake: East from it is the most temperate part of Portugall, the ancient Kingdomes of Galizia, Bisky, Navarre, Aragon, Cattilonia, Castillia the old, and the most moderate of Castillia the new & Valentia, which is the greatest part of Spaine; which if the Histories be true, in the Romans time abounded no lesse with gold & silver Mines, then now the West-Indies, the Romans then using the Spaniards to worke in those Mines, as now the

*Examples
of the
Altitude
compara-
tively.*

In Spaine.

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In France. Spaniards doe the Indians. In France the Provinces of Gascony, Langadocke, Avignon, Province, Dolphine, Pyamont, and Turyne, are in the same parallel, which are the best and richest parts of France. In Italy the Provinces of Genua, Lumbardy, and Verona, with a great part of the most famous state of Venice, the Dukedomes of Bononia, Mantua, Ferrara, Ravenna, Bologna, Florence, Pisa, Sienna, Urbine, Ancona, and the ancient Citie and Countrey of Rome, with a great part of the Kingdome of Naples. In Slavonia, Istria, and Dalmatia, with the Kingdomes of Albania. In Grecia those famous Kingdomes of Macedonia, Bullulgaria, Thessalia, Thracia, or Romania, where is seated the most pleasant and plentiful Citie in Europe, Constantinople.

In Asia. In Asia in the same latitude, are the temperatest parts of Natolia,¹ Armenia, Persia, and China; besides divers other large Countries and Kingdomes in those most milde and temperate Regions of Asia. Southward in the same height is the richest of Gold Mines, Chily, and Baldinia, and the mouth of the great River of Plate, &c. for all the rest of the world in that height is yet unknowne. Besides these reasons, mine owne eies that have seene a great part of those Cities and their Kingdomes (as well as it) can finde no advantage they have in Nature but this, they are beautified by the long labour and diligence of industrious people and art; This is onely as God made it when hee created the world: Therefore I conclude, if the heart and intrailles of those Regions were sought, if their Land were cultured, planted, and manured by men of industry, judgement, and experience; what hope is there, or what need they doubt, having the advantages of the Sea, but it might equalize any of these famous Kingdomes in all commodities, pleasures, and conditions, seeing even the very hedges doe naturally affoord us such plentie, as no ship need returne away emptie, and onely use but the season of the Sea. Fish will re-

¹ Anatolia.

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turne an honest gaine, besides all other advantages, her treasures having yet never beene opened, nor her originals wasted, consumed, nor abused.

And whereas it is said the Hollanders serve the Easterlings themselves, and other parts that want with Herring, Ling, and wet Cod: The Easterlings, a great part of Europe, with Sturghion and Caviare, as the Blacke Sea doth Grecia, Podolia, Sagovia, Natolia and the Hellespont: Cape Blanke,¹ Spaine, Portugall, and the Levant, with Mulit and Puttargo:² New found land, the most part of the chiefe Southerne Ports in Europe, with a thin Poore-John, which hath beene so long, so much over-laied with Fishers, as the fishing decaieeth, so that many oft times are constrained to returne with a small fraught. Norway and Poland affoords Pitch and Tarre, Masts and Yards. Sweathland¹ and Russia, Iron and Ropes. France and Spaine, Canvase, Wine, Steele, Iron, and Oile. Italy and Greece, Silkes and Fruits. I dare boldly say, because I have seene naturally growing or breeding in those parts, the same materials that all these are made of, they may as well bee had here, or the most part of them within the distance of seventie leagues for some few ages, as from all those parts, using but the same meanes to have them that they doe; but surely in Virginia, their most tender and daintiest fruits or commodities, would be as perfit as theirs, by reason of the heat, if not in New England, and with all those advantages.

The particular staple commodities that may be had by industry.

First, the ground is so fertill, that questionlesse it is capable of producing any Graine, Fruits, or Seeds, you will sow or plant, growing in the Regions aforenamed: But it may be not to that perfection of delicacy, because the Summer is not so hot, and the Winter is more cold in those parts we have yet tried neere the Sea side, then wee finde in the same height in

The nature of the ground approved.

¹ The fisheries off the northwest coast of Africa.

² Mullet and Puttargo. The latter is a relish made from the eggs of the fish.
The correct name is Botargo.

³ Sweden.

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Europe or Asia: yet I made a Garden upon the top of a Rocky Ile in three and forty degrees and an halfe, foure leagues from the maine in May, that grew so well, as it served us for Sallets in June and July. All sorts of Cattle may here be bred and fed in the Iles or Peninsulaes securely for nothing. In the Interim, till they increase (if need be) observing the seasons, I durst undertake to have Corne enough from the Salvages for three hundred men, for a few trifles; and if they should be untowards, as it is most certaine they will, thirtie or fortie good men will be sufficient to bring them all in subjection, and make this provision, if they understand what to doe; two hundred whereof may eight or nine moneths in the yeere be imployed in helping the Fisher-men, till the rest provide other necessaries, fit to furnish us with other Commodities.

*The seasons
for fishing
approved.*

In March, Aprill, May, and halfe June, heere is Cod in abundance; In May, June, July, and August, Mullit and Sturghion, whose Roes doe make Caviare and Puttargo; Herring, if any desire them: I have taken many out of the bellies of Cods, some in nets; but the Salvages compare the store in the Sea with the haire of their heads: and surely there are an incredible abundance upon this Coast. In the end of August, September, October, and November, you may have Cod againe to make Core-fish or Poore-John: Hake you may have when the Cod failes in Summer, if you will fish in the night, which is better then Cod. Now each hundred you take here, is as good as two or three hundred in New found Land; so that halfe the labour in hooking, splitting and touring,¹ is saved: And you may have your fish at what market you will, before they have any in New found land, where their fishing is chiefly but in June and July, where it is here in March, Aprill, May, September, October and November, as is said; so that by reason of this Plantation, the Merchants may have their fraught both out and home, which yeelds an advantage worth consideration.

¹ Probably this word should be "turning."

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Your Core-fish you may in like manner transport as you see cause, to serve the Ports in Portugall, as Lisbonne, Avera, Porta Port,¹ and divers others, (or what market you please) before your Ilanders returne. They being tied to the season in the open Sea, and you having a double season, and fishing before your doores, may every night sleep quietly ashore with good cheere, and what fires you will, or when you please with your wives and family: they onely and their ships in the maine Ocean, that must carie and containe all they use, besides their fraught. The Mullits here are in that abundance, you may take them with nets sometimes by hundreds, where at Cape Blanke they hooke them; yet those are but a foot and a halfe in length; these two, three, or foure, as oft I have measured, which makes me suspect they are some other kinde of fish, though they seeme the same, both in fashion and goodnesse. Much Salmon some have found up the Rivers as they have passed, and here the aire is so temperate, as all these at any time may be preserved. Now, young Boies and Girles Salvages, or any other bee they never such idlers, may turne, carie or returne a fish, without either shame or any great paine: He is very idle that is past twelve yeeres of age and cannot doe so much, and she is very old that cannot spin a threed to make Engins to catch a fish.

*Imploiment
for poore
people and
fatherlesse
children.*

For their transportation, the ships that goe there to fish may transport the first: who for their passage will spare the charge of double manning their ships, which they must do in New found land to get their fraught; but one third part of that company are onely proper to serve a stage, carie a Barrow, and turne Poore-John; notwithstanding, they must have meat, drinke, clothes, & passage so well as the rest. Now all I desire is but this, That those that voluntarily will send ship-ping, should make here the best choice they can, or accept such as shall bee presented them to serve them at that rate:

*The facilitie
of the
Plantation.*

¹ Aveiro and Oporto.

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and their ships returning leave such with me, with the value of that they should receive comming home, in such provisions and necessarie tooles, armes, bedding, apparell, salt, nets, hookes, lines, and such like, as they spare of the remainings; who till the next returne may keepe their Boats, and doe them many other profitable offices. Provided, I have men of abilitie to teach them their functions, and a company fit for Souldiers to be ready upon any occasion, because of the abuses that have beene offered the poore Salvages, and the libertie that both French and English, or any that will, have to deale with them as they please; whose disorders will be hard to reforme, and the longer the worse: Now such order with facilitie might be taken, with every Port, Towne, or Citie, with free power to convert the benefit of their fraughts to what advantage they please, and increase their numbers as they see occasion, who ever as they are able to subsist of themselves, may begin the new Townes in New England, in memory of their old: which freedome being confined but to the necessitie of the generall good, the event (with Gods helpe) might produce an honest, a noble, and a profitable emulation.

*Present
Commodi-
ties.*

Salt upon Salt may assuredly be made, if not at the first in ponds, yet till they be provided this may be used: then the ships may transport Kine, Horse, Goats, course Cloth, and such Commodities as we want; by whose arrivall may be made that provision of fish to fraught the ships that they stay not; and then if the Sailers goe for wages it matters not, it is hard if this returne defray not the charge: but care must be had they arrive in the Spring, or else that provision be made for them against winter. Of certaine red berries called Kermes,¹ which is worth ten shillings the pound, but of these have beene sold for thirty or forty shillings the pound, may yeerely

¹ This is the name of a scale-insect found on oak trees in Southern Europe, and once erroneously supposed to be the fruit of the oak. It is used in making dye-stuffs.

be gathered a good quantity. Of the Muskrat may be well raised gaine worth their labour, that will endeavour to make triall of their goodnesse. Of Bevers, Otters and Martins, blacke Foxes, and Furies of price, may yeerely be had six or seven thousand, and if the trade of the French were prevented, many more: 25000. this yeere were brought from those northerne parts into France, of which trade we may have as good part as the French if we take good courses. Of Mines of Gold and Silver, Copper, and probabilities of Lead, Crystall and Allum, I could say much if relations were good assurances; it is true indeed, I made many trialls according to the instructions I had, which doth perswade me I need not despaire but that there are metals in the Country: but I am no Alcumist, nor will promise more then I know: which is, who will undertake the rectifying of an iron Forge, if those that buy meat and drinke, coles, ore, and all necessities at a deare rate, gaine, where all these things are to be had for taking up, in my opinion cannot lose.

Of woods, seeing there is such plenty of all sorts, if those that build ships and boats, buy wood at so great a price, as it is in England, Spaine, France and Holland, and all other provisions for the nourishment of mans life, live well by their trade; when labour is all required to take these necessities without any other tax, what hazard will be here but to doe much better, and what commodity in Europe doth more decay then wood? for the goodnesse of the ground, let us take it fertill or barren, or as it is, seeing it is certaine it beares fruits to nourish and feed man & beast as well as England, and the Sea those severall sorts of fishes I have related: thus seeing all good things for mans sustenance may with this facility be had by a little extraordinary labour, till that [which is] transported be increased, & all necessities for shipping onely for labour, to which may be added the assistance of the Salvages which may easily be had, if they be discreetly handled in their kinds,

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towards fishing, planting, and destroying woods, what gaines might be raised if this were followed (when there is but once men to fill your store houses dwelling there, you may serve all Europe better and farre cheaper then can the Iland Fishers, or the Hollanders, Cape-blanke, or Newfound land, who must be at much more charge then you) may easily be conjectured by this example.

*An example
of the gaines
upon every
yeere or six
moneths
returne.*

Two thousand will fit out a ship of 200. tunnes, & one of 100. tuns, if of the dry fish they both make fraught, that of 200. and goe for Spaine, sell it but at ten shillings a quintall, but commonly it gives fifteene or twenty, especially when it commeth first, which amounts to 3. or 4000. pound, but say but ten, which is the lowest, allowing the rest for waste, it amounts at that rate to 2000. which is the whole charge of your two ships and the equipage, then the returne of the mony and the fraught of the ship for the vintage or any other voyage is cleere gaine, with your ship of one hundred tunnes of traine Oile and Corfish, besides the Bevers and other commodities, and that you may have at home within six moneths if God please to send but an ordinary passage; then saving halfe this charge by the not staying of your ships, your victuall, overplus of men and wages, with her fraught thither with necessities for the Planters, the Salt being there made, as also may the nets and lines within a short time; if nothing may be expected but this, it might in time equalize your Hollanders gaines, if not exceede them, having their fraughts alwaies ready against the arrivall of the ships, this would so increase our shipping and sailers, and so incourage and imploy a great part of our Idlers and others that want imployment fitting their qualities at home, where they shame to doe that they would doe abroad, that could they but once taste the sweet fruits of their owne labours, doubtlesse many thousands would be advised by good discipline to take more pleasure in honest industry, then in their humors of dissolute idlenesse.

But to returne a little more to the particulars of this Countrey, which I intermingle thus with my projects and reasons, not being so sufficiently yet acquainted in those parts, to write fully the estate of the Sea, the Aire, the Land, the Fruits, their Rocks, the People, the Government, Religion, Territories, Limitations, Friends and Foes: But as I gathered from their niggardly relations in a broken language, during the time I ranged those Countries, &c. the most Northerne part I was at, was the Bay of Pennobscot, which is East and West, North and South, more then ten leagues: but such were my occasions, I was constrained to be satisfied of them I found in the Bay, that the River ranne farre up into the Land, and was well inhabited with many people, but they were from their habitations, either fishing amongst the Iles, or hunting the Lakes and Woods for Deere and Bevers: the Bay is full of great Iles of one, two, six or eight miles in length, which divides it into many faire and excellent good Harbours. On the East of it are the Tarrentines, their mortall enemies, where inhabit the French, as they report, that live with those people as one Nation or Family: And Northwest of Pennobscot is Mecadacut, at the foot of a high Mountaine, a kinde of fortresse against the Tarrentines, adjoyning to the high Mountaines of Pennobscot, against whose feet doth beat the Sea; but over all the Land, Iles, or other impediments, you may well see them foureteene or eighteene leagues from their situation. Segocket is the next, then Nuskoucus, Pemmaquid, and Sagadahock: up this River, where was the Westerne Plantation, are Aumoughcawgen, Kinnebeke, and divers others, where are planted some Corne fields. Along this River thirtie or fortie miles, I saw nothing but great high cliffs of barren Rocks overgrowne with Wood, but where the Salvages dwell there the ground is excellent, salt, and fertill. Westward of this River is the Countrey of Aucocisco, in the bottome of a large deepe Bay, full of many great Iles, which divides it into many good Harbours.

A description of the Countrey in particular, and their situations.

Sawocotuck is the next, in the edge of a large Sandy Bay, which hath many Rockes and Iles, but few good Harbours, but for Barkes I yet know; but all this Coast to Pennobscot, and as farre as I could see Eastward of it is nothing, but such high craggy clifty Rockes and stony Iles, that I wonder such great Trees could grow upon so hard foundations. It is a Countrey rather to affright then delight one, and how to describe a more plaine spectacle of desolation, or more barren, I know not, yet are those rocky Iles so furnished with good Woods, Springs, Fruits, Fish and Fowle, and the Sea the strangest Fish-pond I ever saw, that it makes me thinke, though the coast be rocky and thus affrightable, the Vallies and Plaines and interior parts may well notwithstanding be very fertill. But there is no Country so fertill hath not some part barren, and New-England is great enough to make many Kingdomes and Countries, were it all inhabited. As you passe the coast still westward, Accominticus and Passataquack are two convenient Harbours for small Barkes; and a good Countrey within their craggy clifts. Augoan is the next: this place might content a right curious judgement, but there are many sands at the entrance of the Harbour, and the worst is, it is imbayed too farre from the deepe Sea; here are many rising hils, and on their tops and descents are many corne fields and delightfull groves: On the East is an Ile of two or three leagues in length, the one halfe plaine marish ground, fit for pasture or salt Ponds, with many faire high groves of Mulbery trees and Gardens; there is also Okes, Pines, Walnuts, and other wood to make this place an excellent habitation, being a good and safe Harbour.

Naiemkeck,¹ though it be more rocky ground than Augoan, is sandy, not much inferiour neither for the harbour, nor any thing I could perceive but the multitude of people: from hence doth stretch into the Sea the faire headland Tragabig-

¹ Naumkeag, Salem.

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zanda, now called Cape An, fronted with the three Iles wee called the three Turkes heads; to the north of this doth enter a great Bay, where we found some habitations and Corne fields, they report a faire River and at least 30 habitations doth possesse this Country. But because the French had got their trade, I had no leisure to discover it: the Iles of Mattahunts are on the west side of this Bay, where are many Iles and some Rocks that appeare a great height above the water like the Pyramides in Ægypt, and amongst them many good Harbours, and then the country of the Massachusits, which is the Paradise of all those parts, for here are many Iles planted with Corne, Groves, Mulberies, salvage Gardens and good Harbours, the Coast is for the most part high clayie sandy clifts, the sea Coast as you passe shewes you all along large Corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people: but the French having remained here neere six weekes, left nothing for us to take occasion to examine the Inhabitants relations, viz. if there be three thousand people upon those Iles, and that the River doth pierce many daies journey the entrailes of that Country: we found the people in those parts very kinde, but in their fury no lesse valiant, for upon a quarrell we fought with forty or fifty of them, till they had spent all their Arrowes, and then we tooke six or seven of their Canowes, which towards the evening they ransomed for Bever skinnes, and at Quonahashit falling out there but with one of them, he with three others crossed the Harbour in a Canow to certaine rockes whereby wee must passe, and there let flie their Arrowes for our shot, till we were out of danger, yet one of them was slaine, and another shot through his thigh.

Then come you to Accomacke an excellent good Harbour, good land, and no want of any thing but industrious people: after much kindnesse, wee fought also with them, though some were hurt, some slaine, yet within an houre after they became friends. Cape Cod is the next presents it selfe, which is onely a

headland of high hils, over-growne with shrubby Pines, hurts¹ and such trash, but an excellent harbour for all weathers. This Cape is made by the maine Sea on the one side, and a great Bay on the other in forme of a Sickell, on it doth inhabit the people of Pawmet, and in the bottome of the Bay them of Chawum: towards the South and South-west of this Cape, is found a long and dangerous shoule of rocks and sand, but so farre as I incercled it, I found thirty fathome water and a stronge current, which makes mee thinke there is a chanell about this Shoule, where is the best and greatest fish to be had winter and summer in all the Country; but the Salvages say there is no Chanell, but that the Shoales beginne from the maine at Pawmet to the Ile of Nawset, and so extends beyond their knowledge into the Sea. The next to this is Capawucke, and those abounding Countries of Copper, Corne, People and Mineralls, which I went to discover this last yeere, but because I miscarried by the way I will leave them till God please I have better acquaintance with them.

The Massachuset they report sometimes have warres with the Bashabes of Pennobscot, & are not alwaies friends with them of Chawum and their alliance; but now they are all friends, and have each trade with other so farre as they have society on each others frontiers, for they make no such voyages as from Pennobscot to Cape Cod, seldome to Massachuset. In the North as I have said they have begun to plant Corne, whereof the south part hath such plenty as they have what they will from them of the North, and in the Winter much more plenty of fish and fowle, but both Winter & Summer hath it in one part or other all the yeere, being the meane, and most indifferent temper betwixt heat and cold, of all the Regions betwixt the Line and the Pole, but the Furs Northward are much better, and in much more plenty then Southward.

The remarkablest Iles and Mountaines for land Markes are

¹ Hurts = whortleberry bushes.

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these: the highest Ile is Sorico in the Bay of Pennobscot, but the three Iles, and the Iles of Matinack are much further in the Sea: Metynacus is also three plaine Iles, but many great Rocks: Monahigan is a round high Ile, and close by it Monanis, betwixt which is a small Harbour where we rid; in Damerils Iles is such another, Sagadahocke is knowne by Satquin, and foure or five Iles in their mouth. Smiths Iles are a heape together, none neere them against Accomintycus: the three Turkes heads, are three Iles, seene farre to Sea-ward in regard of the Headland. The chiefe Head-lands, are onely Cape Tragabigzanda, and Cape Cod, now called Cape James, and Cape Anne.

*The land
Markes.*

The chiefe Mountaines, them of Pennobscot, the twinkling Mountaine of Acocisco, the great Mountaine of Sassanow, and the high Mountaine of Massachuset. Each of which you shall finde in the Map, their places, forme, and altitudes. The waters are most pure, proceeding from the intrailes of rocky Mountaines: the Herbs and Fruits are of many sorts and kinds, as Alkermes,¹ Currans, Mulberies, Vines, Respises,² Gooseberies, Plums, Wall-nuts, Chesse-nuts, Small-nuts, Pumpions, Gourds, Strawberies, Beanes, Pease, and Maize; a kinde or two of Flax, wherewith they make Nets, Lines, and Ropes, both small and great, very strong for their quantities.

Oake is the chiefe wood, of which there is great difference, in regard of the soyle where it groweth, Firre, Pine, Wall-nut, Chesse-nut, Birtch, Ash, Elme, Cipris, Cedar, Mulbery, Plum tree, Hazell, Saxefras, and many other sorts.

Eagles, Grips,³ divers sorts of Hawkes, Craines,⁴ Geese, Brants, Cormorants, Ducks, Cranes, Swannes, Sheldrakes, Teale, Meawes, Gulls, Turkies, Divedoppers, and many other sorts whose names I know not.

¹ A cordial made from the kermes, an insect supposed to be a berry.

² Raspberries. ³ Grype, a vulture.

⁴ Possibly this word was intended to be Craiks, in which case it would here mean crows.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

Whales, Grompus, Porkpiscies,¹ Turbut, Sturgion, Cod, Hake, Haddocke, Cole, Cuske or small Ling, Sharke, Mackarell, Herring, Mullit, Base, Pinnacks, Cunners, Peach, 'Eeles, Crabs, Lobsters, Mustels, Wilks, Oisters, Clamps, Periwinkels, and divers others, &c.

Moos, a beast bigger than a Stag, Deare red and fallow, Bevers, Wolves, Foxes both blacke and other, Aroughcunds,² wilde Cats, Beares, Otters, Martins, Fitches,³ Musquassus,⁴ and divers other sorts of Vermin whose names I know not: all these and divers other good things doe here for want of use still increase and decrease with little diminution, whereby they grow to that abundance, you shall scarce finde any bay, shallow shore or Cove of sand, where you may not take many clamps or Lobsters, or both at your pleasure, and in many places load your Boat if you please, nor Iles where you finde not Fruits, Birds, Crabs and Mustels, or all of them; for taking at a low water Cod, Cuske, Hollibut, Scate, Turbut, Mackarell, or such like are taken plentifully in divers sandy Bayes, store of Mullit, Bases, and divers other sorts of such excellent fish as many as their Net can hold: no River where there is not plenty of Sturgion, or Salmon, or both, all which are to be had in abundance observing but their seasons: but if a man will goe at Christmas to gather Cherries in Kent, though there be plenty in Summer, he may be deceived; so here these plenties have each their seasons, as I have expressed; we for the most part had little but bread and Vinegar, and though the most part of July when the fishing decayed, they wrought all day, lay abroad in the Iles all night, and lived on what they found, yet were not sicke: But I would wish none long put himselfe to such plunges, except necessity constraine it: yet worthy is that person to starve that here cannot live if he have sense, strength and health, for there is no such penury of

¹ Porpoises. ² Raccoons.

³ Skunks. ⁴ Musquash = the muskrat.

these blessings in any place but that one hundred men may in two or three houres make their provisions for a day, and he that hath experience to manage these affaires, with forty or thirty honest industrious men, might well undertake (if they dwell in these parts) to subject the Salvages, and feed daily two or three hundred men, with as good Corne, Fish, and Flesh as the earth hath of those kinds, and yet make that labour but their pleasure: provided that they have Engines that be proper for their purposes. Who can desire more content that hath small meanes, or but onely his merit to advance his fortunes, then to tread and plant that ground he hath purchased by the hazard of his life; if hee have but the taste of vertue and magnanimity, what to such a minde can bee more pleasant then planting and building a foundation for his posterity, got from the rude earth by Gods blessing and his owne industry without prejudice to any, if hee have any graine of faith or zeale in Religion, what can he doe lesse hurtfull to any, or more agreeable to God, than to seeke to convert those poore Salvages to know Christ and humanity, whose labours with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paine; what so truly sutes with honour and honesty, as the discovering things unknowne, erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things unjust, teaching vertue and gaine to our native mother Country; a Kingdome to attend her, finde imployment for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe: so farre from wronging any, as to cause posterity to remember thee, and remembring thee, ever honour that remembrance with praise. Consider what were the beginnings and endings of the Monarchies of the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the Grecians and Romans, but this one rule; what was it they would not doe for the good of their common weale, or their mother City? For example: Rome, what made her such a Monarchesse, but onely the adventures of her youth, not in riots at home, but in dangers abroad, and the justice and judge-

*A note for
men that
have great
spirits and
small
meanes.*

ment out of their experiences when they grew aged; what was their ruine and hurt but this, the excesse of idlenesse, the fondnesse of parents, the want of experience in Majestrates, the admiration of their undeserved honours, the contempt of true merit, their unjust jealousies, their politike incredulities, their hypocritically seeming goodnesse and their deeds of secret lewdnesse; finally in fine, growing onely formall temporists, all that their Predecessors got in many yeeres they lost in a few daies: those by their paines and vertues became Lords of the world, they by their ease and vices became slaves to their servants; this is the difference betwixt the use of armes in the field, and on the monuments of stones, the golden age and the leaden age, prosperity and misery, justice and corruption, substance and shadowes, words and deeds, experience and imagination, making common weales, and marring common weales, the fruits of vertue, and the conclusions of vice.

Then who would live at home idly, or thinke in himselfe any worth to live, onely to eat, drinke and sleepe, and so die; or by consuming that carelesly, his friends got worthily, or by using that miserably that maintained vertue honestly, or for being descended nobly, and pine with the vaine vaunt of great kindred in penury, or to maintaine a silly shew of bravery, toile out thy heart, soule and time basely; by shifts, tricks, Cards and Dice, or by relating newes of other mens actions, sharke here and there for a dinner or supper, deceive thy friends by faire promises and dissimulation, in borrowing where thou never meanest to pay, offend the Lawes, surfet with excesse, burthen thy Countrie, abuse thy selfe, despaire in want, and then cousen¹ thy Kindred, yea even thy owne brother, and wish thy Parents death (I will not say damnation) to have their estates, though thou seest what honours and rewards the world yet hath for them, that will seeke them and worthily deserve them.

¹ Cozen, cheat.

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I would bee sorry to offend, or that any should mistake my honest meaning; for I wish good to all, hurt to none: but rich men for the most part are growne to that dotage through their pride in their wealth, as though there were no accident could end it or their life.

And what hellish care doe such take to make it their owne misery and their Countries spoile, especially when there is most need of their imploiment, drawing by all manner of inventions from the Prince and his honest Subjects, even the vitall spirits of their powers and estates: as if their baggs or brags were so powerfull a defence, the malicious could not assault them, when they are the onely bait to cause us not onely to bee assaulted, but betrayed and murdered in our owne security ere wee will perceive it.

May not the miserable ruine of Constantinople, their impregnable walls, riches and pleasures last taken by the Turke, which were then but a bit in comparison of their mightinesse now, remember us of the effects of private covetousnesse, at which time the good Emperour held himselfe rich enough, to have such rich subjects, so formall in all excesse of vanity, all kinde of delicacy and prodigality: his poverty when the Turke besieged the Citizens (whose merchandizing thoughts were onely to get wealth) little conceiving the desperat resolution of a valiant expert enemy, left the Emperour so long to his conclusions, having spent all he had to pay his young raw discontented Souldiers, that suddenly he, they, and their City were all a prey to the devouring Turke, and what they would not spare for the maintenance of them who adventured their lives to defend them, did serve onely their enemies to torment them, their friends and Country, and all Christendome to this present day. Let this lamentable example remember you that are rich (seeing there are such great theeves in the world to rob you) not grudge to lend some proportion to breed them that have little, yet willing to learne how to defend you, for it is too late when the deed is doing.

*An example
of secure
covetous-
nesse.*

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The Romans estate hath beene worse then this, for the meere covetousnesse and extortion of a few of them so moved the rest, that not having any imploiment but contemplation, their great judgements grew to so great malice, as themselves were sufficient to destroy themselves by faction; let this move you to imbrace imployment, for those whose educations, spirits and judgements want but your purses, not only to prevent such accustomed dangers, but also to gaine more thereby then you have; and you fathers that are either so foolishly fond, or so miserably covetous, or so wilfully ignorant, or so negligently carelesse, as that you will rather maintaine your children in idle wantonnesse till they grow your masters, or become so basely unkinde that they wish nothing but your deaths, so that both sorts grow dissolute, and although you would wish them any where to escape the Gallowes and ease your cares, though they spend you here one, two or three hundred pound a yeere, you would grudge to give halfe so much in adventure with them to obtaine an estate, which in a small time, but with a little assistance of your providence, might bee better then your owne; but if an Angell should tell you any place yet unknowne can affoord such fortunes, you would not beleieve it, no more then Columbus was beleieved there was any such land, as is now the well knowne abounding America, much lesse such large Regions as are yet unknowne, as well in America, as in Africa and Asia, and Terra incognita.

*The
Authors
conditions.*

I have not beene so ill bred but I have tasted of plenty and pleasure, as well as want and misery; nor doth necessity yet, or occasion of discontent force me to these endeavours, nor am I ignorant what small thanks I shall have for my paines, or that many would have the world imagine them to bee of great judgement, that can but blemish these my designes, by their witty objections and detractions, yet (I hope) my reasons with my deeds will so prevaile with some, that I shall not want imploiment in these affaires, to make the most blinde see his

owne senselesnesse and incredulity, hoping that gaine will make them affect that which Religion, Charity and the common good cannot. It were but a poore device in mee to deceive my selfe, much more the King and State, my Friends and Country with these inducements, which seeing his Majesty hath given permission, I wish all sorts of worthy honest industrious spirits would understand, and if they desire any further satisfaction, I will doe my best to give it, not to perswade them to goe onely, but goe with them; not leave them there, but live with them there: I will not say but by ill providing and undue managing, such courses may bee taken may make us miserable enough: but if I may have the execution of what I have projected, if they want to eat, let them eat or never digest mee; If I performe what I say, I desire but that reward out of the gaines may sute my paines, quality and condition, and if I abuse you with my tongue, take my head for satisfaction. If any dislike at the yeeres end, defraying their charge, by my consent they should freely returne; I feare not want of company sufficient, were it but knowne what I know of these Countries, and by the prooffe of that wealth I hope yeerely to returne, if God please to blesse me from such accidents as are beyond my power in reason to prevent; for I am not so simple to thinke that ever any other motive then wealth will ever erect there a common wealth, or draw company from their ease and humors at home, or stay in New-England to effect my purposes.

And lest any should thinke the toile might be insupportable, though these things may bee had by labour and diligence; I assure my selfe there are who delight extremely in vaine pleasure, that take much more paines in England to enjoy it, then I should doe here to gaine wealth sufficient, and yet I thinke they should not have halfe such sweet content: for our pleasure here is still gaines, in England charges and losse; here nature and liberty affords us that freely which in England we want, or it costeth us deerely. What pleasure can bee more

*The
Planters
pleasures
and profit.*

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then being tired with any occasion a shore, in planting Vines, Fruits, or Herbes, in contriving their owne grounds to the pleasure of their owne minds, their Fields, Gardens, Orchards, Buildings, Ships, and other workes, &c. to recreate themselves before their owne doores in their owne Boats upon the Sea, where man, woman and childe, with a small hooke and line, by angling may take divers sorts of excellent Fish at their pleasures; and is it not pretty sport to pull up two pence, six pence, and twelve pence, as fast as you can hale and vere a line; hee is a very bad Fisher cannot kill in one day with his hooke and line one, two, or three hundred Cods, which dressed and dried, if they bee sold there for ten shillings a hundred, though in England they will give more then twenty, may not both servant, master and Merchant be well content with this gaine? if a man worke but three daies in seven, hee may get more then hee can spend unlesse hee will bee exceedingly excessive. Now that Carpenter, Mason, Gardiner, Tailer, Smith, Sailer, Forger, or what other, may they not make this a pretty recreation, though they fish but an houre in a day, to take more then they can eat in a weeke, or if they will not eat it, because there is so much better choise, yet sell it or change it with the Fisher-men or Merchants for any thing you want, and what sport doth yeeld a more pleasing content, and lesse hurt and charge then angling with a hooke, and crossing the sweet aire from Ile to Ile, over the silent streames of a calme Sea, wherein the most curious may finde profit, pleasure and content.

Thus though all men be not fishers, yet all men whatsoever may in other matters doe as well, for necessity doth in these cases so rule a common wealth, and each in their severall functions, as their labours in their qualities may be as profitable, because there is a necessary mutuall use of all.

*Impliments
for
Gentlemen.*

For Gentlemen, what exercise should more delight them then ranging daily these unknowne parts, using fowling and fishing for hunting and hawking, and yet you shall see the

wilde Hawkes give you some pleasure in seeing them stoupe six or seven times after one another an houre or two together, at the skults¹ of Fish in the faire Harbours, as those a shore at a fowle, and never trouble nor torment your selves with watching, mewing, feeding, and attending them, nor kill horse and man with running and crying, See you not a Hawke; for hunting also, the Woods, Lakes and Rivers affoord not onely chase sufficient for any that delights in that kinde of toile or pleasure, but such beasts to hunt, that besides the delicacie of their bodies for food, their skinnes are so rich, as they will recompence thy daily labour with a Captaines pay.

For Labourers, if those that sow Hemepe, Rape, Turnups, Parsnips, Carrats, Cabidge, and such like; give twentie, thirtie, fortie, fiftie shillings yeerely for an Acre of Land, and meat, drinke, and wages to use it, and yet grow rich: when better, or at least as good ground may bee had and cost nothing but labour; it seemes strange to me any such should grow poore.

My purpose is not to perswade children from their parents, men from their wives, nor servants from their masters; onely such as with free consent may bee spared: but that each Parish, or Village, in Citie, or Countrey, that will but apparell their fatherlesse children of thirteene or foureteene yeeres of age, or young married people that have small wealth to live on, here by their labour may live exceeding well. Provided alwaies, that first there be a sufficient power to command them, houses to receive them, meanes to defend them, and meet provisions for them, for any place may be over-laine: and it is most necessary to have a fortresse (ere this grow to practise) and sufficient masters of all necessarie, mecanicall qualities, to take ten or twelve of them for Apprentises; the Master by this may quickly grow rich, these may learne their trades themselves to doe the like, to a generall and an incredible benefit for King and Countrey, Master and Servant.

¹ Schools.

*Examples
of the
Spaniards.*

It would be a History of a large volume, to recite the adventures of the Spaniards and Portugals, their affronts and defeats, their dangers and miseries; which with such incomparable honor, and constant resolution, so farre beyond beleefe, they have attempted and indured in their discoveries and plantations, as may well condemne us of too much imbecillitie, sloth, and negligence; yet the Authors of these new inventions were held as ridiculous for a long time, as now are others that doe but seeke to imitate their unparalleld vertues, and though we see daily their mountaines of wealth, (sprung from the Plants of their generous indevours) yet is our sensualitie and untowardnesse such, & so great, that we either ignorantly beleieve nothing, or so curiously contest, to prevent we know not what future events; that we either so neglect, or oppresse and discourage the present, as wee spoile all in the making, crop all in the blooming; and building upon faire Sand rather then upon rough Rocks, judge that we know not, governe that wee have not, feare that which is not; and for feare some should doe too well, force such against their wils to be idle, or as ill. And who is hee hath judgement, courage, and any industry or quality with understanding, will leave his Country, his hopes at home, his certaine estate, his friends, pleasures, libertie, and the preferment sweet England doth affoord to all degrees, were it not to advance his fortunes by enjoying his deserts, whose prosperitie once appearing, will encourage others: but it must be cherished as a childe, till it be able to goe and understand it selfe, and not corrected nor oppressed above its strength, ere it know wherefore. A childe can neither performe the office nor deeds of a man of strength, nor endure that affliction he is able: nor can an Apprentise at the first performe the part of a Master, and if twentie yeeres be required to make a childe a man, seven yeeres limited an Apprentise for his trade: if scarce an age be sufficient to make a wise man a States-man, and commonly a man dies ere he hath learned to be discreet; if per-

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fection be so hard to be obtained, as of necessitie there must be Practice as well as Theoricke : Let no man then condemne this paradox opinion, to say that halfe seven yeres in scarce sufficient for a good capacitie to learne in these affaires how to carrie himselfe. And who ever shall try in these remote places the erecting of a Colony, shall finde at the end of seven yeeres occasion enough to use all his discretion : and in the Interim, all the content, rewards, gaines, and hopes, will be necessarily required, to be given to the beginning, till it be able to creepe, to stand, and goe, and to encourage desert by all possible meanes ; yet time enough to keepe it from running, for there is no feare it will grow too fast, or ever to any thing, except libertie, profit, honor, and prosperitie there found, more binde the Planters of those affaires in devotion to effect it ; then bondage, violence, tyrannie, ingratitude, and such double dealing, as bindes free men to become slaves, and honest men turne knaves ; which hath ever beene the ruine of the most popular Common-weales, and is very unlikely ever well to begin anew.

Who seeth not what is the greatest good of the Spaniard, but these new conclusions in searching those unknowne parts of this unknowne world ; by which meanes he dives even into the very secrets of all his neighbours, and the most part of the world ; and when the Portugals and Spaniards had found the East and West-Indies, how many did condemne themselves, that did not accept of that honest offer of Noble Columbus, who upon our neglect brought them to it, perswading our selves the world had no such places as they had found : and yet ever since we finde, they still (from time to time) have found new Lands, new Nations, and Trades, and still daily doe finde, both in Asia, Affrica, Terra incognita, and America, so that there is neither Souldier nor Mechanicke, from the Lord to the Begger, but those parts affords them all imploiment, & discharges their native soile of so many thousands of all sorts, that else by their sloth, pride, and imperfections, would long ere this have

*The blisse
of Spain.*

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troubled their neighbours, or have eaten the pride of Spaine it selfe.

Now hee knowes little that knowes not England may well spare many more people then Spaine, and is as well able to furnish them with all manner of necessaries; and seeing for all they have, they cease not still to search for that they have not, and know not; it is strange we should be so dull, as not maintaine that which we have, and pursue that we know: Surely, I am sure many would take it ill, to be abridged of the titles and honors of their predecessors; when if but truly they would judge themselves, looke how inferior they are to their Noble Vertues, so much they are unworthy of their honors and livings, which never were ordained for shewes and shadowes, to maintaine idlenesse and vice, but to make them more able to abound in honor, by Heroicall deeds of action, judgement, pietie, and vertue. What was it both in their purse and person they would not doe, for the good of their Common-wealth, which might move them presently to set out their spare children in these generous designes; Religion above all things should move us, especially the Clergie, if we are religious, to shew our faith by our works, in converting those poore Salvages to the knowledge of God, seeing what paines the Spaniards take to bring them to their adultered faith. Honor might move the Gentry, the valiant, and industrious, and the hope and assurance of wealth, all, if we were that we would seeme, and be accounted; or be we so farre inferior to other Nations, or our spirits so farre dejected from our ancient predecessors, or our mindes so upon spoile, piracy, and such villany, as to serve the Portugall, Spaniard, Dutch, French, or Turke, (as to the cost of Europe too many doe) rather then our God, our King, our Country, and our selves; excusing our idlenesse and our base complaints by want of imploiment, when here is such choice of all sorts, and for all degrees, in the planting and discovering these North parts of America.

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My second voyage to New England.

In the yeere of our Lord 1615. I was imploied by many my friends of London, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, a noble Knight, and a great favourer of those actions, who perswaded the reverend Deane of Exeter Doctor Sutcliffe, and divers Merchants of the West, to entertaine this Plantation. Much labour I had taken to bring the Londoners and them to joyne together, because the Londoners have most Money, and the Western men are most proper for fishing; and it is neere as much trouble, but much more danger, to saile from London to Plimoth, then from Plimoth to New England, so that halfe the voiage would thus be saved, yet by no meanes I could prevaile, so desirous they were both to be Lords of this fishing. Now to make my words more apparant by my deeds, to begin a Plantation for a more ample triall of those conclusions, I was to have staid there but with sixteene men, whose names were:

Gent.

Tho. Dirmer.

Daniel Cage.

Edw. Stallings.

Francis Abbot.

Sould.

Jonn Gosling.

David Cooper.

William Ingram.

John Partridge.

Were to learne to be Sailers.

Thomas Digby.

Adam Smith.

Daniel Baker.

Tho. Watson.

Walter Chisell.

Robert Miller.

And two Boyes.

I confesse I could have wished them as many thousands, had all other provisions beene in like proportion; nor would I have had so few, could I have had means for more: yet would

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God have pleased we had safely arrived, I doubted not but to have performed more then I promised, and that many thousands ere this would have bin there ere now. The maine assistance next God I had to this small number, was my acquaintance amongst the Salvages, especially with Dohoday, one of their greatest Lords, who had lived long in England, and another called Tantum, I caried with mee from England, and set on shore at Cape Cod; by the meanes of this proud Salvage, I did not doubt but quickly to have got that credit amongst the rest of the Salvages and their alliance, to have had as many of them as I desired in any designe I intended, and that trade also they had by such a kinde of exchange of their Countrey Commodities, which both with ease and securitie might then have beene used with him and divers others: I had concluded to inhabit and defend them against the Tarentines, with a better power then the French did them; whose tyrannie did inforce them to embrace my offer with no small devotion: and though many may think me more bold then wise, in regard of their power, dexteritie, treachery, and inconstancy, having so desperately assaulted, and betraied many others; I say but this (because with so many, I have many times done much more in Virginia then I intended here, when I wanted that experience Virginia taught mee) that to me it seemes no more danger then ordinary: and though I know my selfe the meanest of many thousands, whose apprehensive inspection can pierce beyond the bounds of my abilities, into the hidden things of Nature, Art, and Reason: yet I intreat such, give mee leave to excuse my selfe of so much imbecillitie, as to say, that in these eightene yeeres which I have beene conversant with these affaires, I have not learned, there is a great difference betwixt the directions and judgement of experimentall knowledge, and the superficiall conjecture of variable relation: wherein rumour, humour, or misprision have such power, that oft times one is enough to beguile twentie, but twentie not sufficient to keepe one from

*The ground
and plot
for our
plantation.*

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being deceived. Therefore I know no reason but to beleieve my owne eies before any mans imagination, that is but wrested from the conceits of my owne projects and endeavours, but I honor with all affection, the counsell and instructions of judiciall directions, or any other honest advertisement, so farre to observe, as they tie me, not to the crueltie of unknowne events. These are the inducements that thus drew me to neglect all other imployments, and spend my time and best abilities in these adventures, wherein though I have had many discouragements, by the ingratitude of some, the malicious slanders of others, the falsenesse of friends, the treachery of cowards, and slownesse of Adventurers.

*The meanes
used to
prevent it
and me.*

Now you are to remember, as I returned first from New England at Plimoth, I was promised foure good ships ready prepared to my hand the next Christmas, and what conditions and content I would desire, to put this businesse in practise, and arriving at London, foure more were offered me with the like courtesie. But to joyne the Londoners & them in one, was most impossible; so that in January with two hundred pound in Chash for adventure, and six Gentlemen well furnished, I went from London to the foure ships were promised me at Plimoth, but I found no such matter: and the most of those that had made such great promises, by the bad returne of the ship went for Gold, and their private emulations, were extinct and qualified.¹ Notwithstanding at last, with a labyrinth of trouble, though the greatest of the burden lay on me, and a few of my particular friends, I was furnished with a ship of two hundred tunnes, and another of fiftie: But ere I had sailed one hundred and twentie leagues, she brake all her Masts, pumping each watch five or six thousand strokes; onely her spret-saile remained to spoone before the winde, till we had re-accommodated a Jury-mast to returne for Plimoth, or founde in the Seas.

*How I set
saile and
returned.*

¹ *I.e.*, inactive and restricted.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

*My reim-
barkement,
encounter
with Pirats,
and impris-
onment by
the French.*

My Vice-Admirall being lost, not knowing of this, proceeded her voyage; now with the remainder of those provisions, I got out againe in a small Barke of sixtie tuns with thirty men: for this of two hundred, and provision for seventie, which were the sixteene before named, and fourteene other Sailers for the ship; with those I set saile againe the foure and twentieth of June, where what befell me (because my actions and writings are so publike to the world) envy still seeking to scandalize my endeavours, and seeing no power but death can stop the chat of ill tongues, nor imagination of mens minds, lest my owne relations of those hard events might by some constructors bee made doubtfull, I have thought it best to insert the examinations of those proceedings, taken by Sir Lewis Stukeley, a worthy Knight, and Vice-Admirall of Devonshire, which was as followeth.

The Examination of Daniel Baker, late Steward to Captaine John Smith, in the retorne of Plimoth, taken before Sir Lewis Stukeley Knight, the eighth of December, 1615.

The effect in brieffe was this: being chased by one Fry an English Pirat, Edward Chambers the Master, John Minter his Mate, Thomas Digby the Pylot, and divers others importuned him to yeeld; much swaggering wee had with them, more then the Pirats, who agreed upon such faire conditions as we desired, which if they broke, he vowed to sinke rather then be abused. Strange they thought it, that a Barke of threescore tuns with foure guns should stand upon such termes, they being eightie expert Sea-men, in an excellent ship of one hundred and fortie tuns, and thirty six cast Peeces and Murderers: But when they knew our Captaine, so many of them had beene his Souldiers, and they but lately runne from Tunis, where they had stolne this ship, wanted victuall, and in combustion amongst themselves, would have yeelded all to his protection, or wafted us

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any whither: but those mutinies occasioned us to reject their offer, which afterward we all repented. For at Fiall we met two French Pirats, the one of two hundred tuns, the other thirty: no disgrace would cause our mutiners fight, till the Captaine offered to blow up the ship rather than yeeld, till hee had spent all his powder: so that together by the eares we went, and at last got cleere of them for all their shot. At Flowers we were againe chased with foure French men of warre, the Admirall one hundred and fortie tuns, and ninety men well armed; the rest good ships, and as well provided: much parly we had, but vowing they were Rochilers,¹ and had a Commission from the King onely to secure true men, and take Portugals, Spaniards, and Pirats, and as they requested, our Captaine went to shew his Commission, which was under the broad Seale, but neither it nor their vowes they so much respected, but they kept him, rifled our ship, manned her with French men, and dispersed us amongst their Fleet: within five or six daies they were increased to eight or nine saile. At last they surrendered us our ship, and most of our provisions, the defects they promised the next day to supply, and did. Notwithstanding, there was no way but our mutiners would for England, though we were as neere New England, till the major part resolved with our Captaine to proceed. But the Admirall sending his Boat for our Captaine, they espying a Saile, presently gave chase, whereby our mutiners finding an opportunitie in the night ran away, and thus left our Captaine in his Cap, Bretches, and Wast-coat, alone among the French men: his clothes, armes, and what he had, our mutiners shared among them, and with a false excuse, faining for feare lest he should turne man of warre, they returned for Plimoth: fiftene of us being Land-men, not knowing what they did. Daniel Cage, Edward Stalings, Walter Chisell, David Cooper, Robert Miller, and John Partridge, upon oath affirmes this for truth before the Vice-Admirall.

¹ *I.e.*, from Rochelle.

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Now the cause why the French detained mee againe, was the suspition this Chambers and Minter gave them, that I would revenge my selfe upon the Banke, or in New found land, of all the French I could there encounter, and how I would have fired the ship, had they not over-perswaded me: and that if I had but againe my Armes, I would rather sinke by them, then they should have from me but the value of a Bisket: and many other such like tales to catch but opportunitie in this manner to leave me, and thus they returned to Plimoth, and perforce with the French men I thus proceeded. Being a fleet of eight or nine saile, we watched for the West-Indies fleet, till ill weather separated us from the other eight: still wee spent our time about the Iles of the Assores, where to keepe my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate, I writ this Discourse, thinking to have sent it to you of his Majesties Councell by some ship or other, for I saw their purpose was to take all they could. At last we were chased by one Captaine Barra, an English Pirat, in a small ship, with some twelve Peece of Ordnance, about thirty men, and neere all starved. They sought by courtesie releefe of us, who gave them such faire promises, as at last they betraied Captaine Wollistone his Lieutenant, and foure or five of his men aboard us, and then provided to take the rest perforce. Now my part was to be prisoner in the Gun-roome, and not to speake to any of them upon my life, yet had Barra knowledge what I was. Then Barra perceiving well those French intents, made ready to fight, and Wollistone as resolutely regarded not their threats, which caused us demurre upon the matter longer some sixteene houres, and then returned them againe Captaine Wollistone and all their Prisoners, and some victuall also upon a small composition: But whilest we were bartering thus with them; a Carvill¹ before our faces got under the Castle of Gratosia, from whence they beat us with their Ordnance.

¹ Caravel.

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The next wee tooke was a small English man of Poole from New found land: the great Cabben at this present was my prison, from whence I could see them pillage these poore men of all that they had, and halfe their fish: when hee was gone, they sold his poore clothes at the maine Mast by an out-cry, which scarce gave each man seven pence a peece. *A prise of Fish.*

Not long after we tooke a Scot fraught from Saint Michaels to Bristow, he had better fortune then the other; for having but taken a Boats loading of Sugar, Marmelade, Suckets, and such like, we descried foure saile, after whom we stood, who forling their maine Sailes attended us to fight, but our French spirits were content onely to perceive they were English red Crosses. Within a very small time after wee chased 4. Spanish ships that came from the Indies, we fought with them foure or five houres, tore their sailes and sides with many a shot betwixt wind and weather, yet not daring to boord them, lost them, for which all the Sailers ever after hated the Captaine as a professed coward. *A Scotch prise.*

A poore Carvill of Brasile was the next wee chased; and after a small fight, thirteene or fourteene of her men being wounded, which was the better halfe, we tooke her with three hundred and seventy chests of Sugar, one hundred hides, and thirty thousand Rialls of eight. *A prise worth 36000 crownes.*

The next was a ship of Holland, which had lost her Consorts in the Streights of Magilans, going for the South sea, she was put roomy, she also these French men with faire promises, cunningly betraied to come aboard them to shew their Commission, and so made prise of all: the most of the Dutch-men we tooke aboard the Admirall, and manned her with Frenchmen, that within two or three nights after ran away with her for France, the wounded Spaniards we set on shore on the Ile of Tercera, the rest we kept to saile the Carvill.

Within a day or two after, we met a West-Indies man of warre, of one hundred and sixtie tuns, a fore noone wee fought *A prise worth 200000 crownes.*

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with her, and then tooke her with one thousand one hundred Hides, fiftie Chests of Cutchanele, foureteene Coffers of wedges of Silver, eight thousand Rialls of eight, and six Coffers of the King of Spaines Treasure, besides the good pillage and rich Coffers of many rich Passengers.

Two moneths they kept me in this manner to manage their fights against the Spaniards, and bee a Prisoner when they tooke any English. Now though the Captaine had oft broke his promise, which was to put me on shore the Iles, or the next ship he tooke; yet at the last he was contented I should goe in the Carvill of Sugar for France, himselfe seeming as resolved to keepe the Seas, but the next morning we all set saile for France, and that night we were separated from the Admirall and the rich prise by a storme. Within two daies after wee were hailed by two West-Indies men: but when they saw us waife them for the King of France, they gave us their broad sides, shot thorow our maine Mast, and so left us. Having lived now this Summer amongst those French men of warre, with much adoe we arrived at the Gulion, not farre from Rotchell: where in stead of the great promises they alwaies fed me with, of double satisfaction and full content, and tenne thousand Crownes was generally concluded I should have; they kept me five or six daies Prisoner in the Carvill, accusing me to be he that burnt their Colony in New France,¹ to force me to give them a discharge before the Judge of the Admiraltie, and stand to their courtesies for satisfaction, or lie in prison, or a worse mischiefe: Indeed this was in the time of combustion, that the Prince of Cundy² was with his Army in the field, and every poore Lord, or men in authoritie, as little Kings of themselves: For this injury was done me by them that set out this voyage (not by the Sailers) for they were cheated of all as well as I, by a few Officers aboard, and the owners on shore.

¹ *I.e.*, Captain Argall.

² Condé.

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But to prevent this choise, in the end of such a storme that beat them all under hatches, I watched my opportunitie to get a shore in their Boat, whereinto in the darke night I secretly got, and with a halfe Pike that lay by me, put a drift for Rat Ile: but the currant was so strong, and the Sea so great, I went a drift to Sea, till it pleased God the wind so turned with the tide, that although I was all this fearefull night of gusts and raine in the Sea the space of twelve houres, when many ships were driven ashore, and divers split: (and being with skulling and bayling the water tired, I expected each minute would sinke me) at last I arrived in an Oazy Ile by Charowne, where certaine Fowlers found me neere drowned, and halfe dead, with water, cold, and hunger. My Boat I pawned to finde meanes to get to Rotchell; where I understood our man of war & the rich prize, wherein was the Cap. called Mounsieur Poyrune, and the thirtie thousand Rialls of eight we tooke in the Carvill, was split, the Captaine drowned and halfe his Company the same night, within six or seven leagues of that place; from whence I escaped in the little Boat by the mercy of God, far beyond all mens reason or my expectation, arriving at Rotchell: upon my complaint to the Judge of the Admiraltie, I found many good words and faire promises, and ere long many of them that escaped drowning, told me the newes they heard of my owne death: These I arresting, their severall examinations did so confirme my complaint, it was held prooffe sufficient. All which being performed according to their order of justice, from under the Judges hand, I presented it to Sir Thomas Edmonds, then Ambassadour at Burdeaux, where it was my chance to see the arrivall of the Kings great mariage brought from Spaine.

*My escape
from the
French
men.*

*What law
I had.*

Here it was my good fortune to meet my old friend Master Crampton, that no lesse grieved at my losse, then willingly to his power did supply my wants, and I must confesse, I was more beholden to the French men that escaped drowning in the man of warre, Madam Chanoyes at Rotchell, and the Lawyers

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of Burdeaux, then all the rest of my Country-men I met in France. Of the wracke of the rich prise, some three thousand six hundred crownes worth of goods came ashore, and was saved with the Carvill, which I did my best to arrest: the Judge promised I should have Justice, what will be the conclusion as yet I know not. But under the couler to take Pirats and the West-Indie men (because the Spaniards will not suffer the French to trade in the West-Indies) any goods from thence, though they take them upon the Coast of Spaine are lawfull prize, or from any of his Territories out of the limits of Europe: and as they betraied me, though I had the broad-seale, so did they rob and pillage twentie saile of English men more, besides them I knew not of the same yeere.

*My returne
for
England.*

Leaving thus my businesse in France I returned to Plimoth, to finde them had thus buried me amongst the French; and not onely buried me, but with so much infamy as such treacherous cowards could suggest to excuse their villanies. The Chiefetaines of this mutiny that I could finde, I laid by the heeles, the rest like themselves confessed the truth, as you have heard. Now how I have or could prevent these accidents, having no more meanes, I rest at your censures; but to proceed to the matter; yet must I sigh and say, How oft hath Fortune in the world (thinke I) brought slavery, freedome, and turned all diversly. Newfoundland I have heard at the first, was held as desperate a fishing as this I project for New England, Placentia, and the Banke neare also as doubtfull to the French: But for all the disasters hapned me, the businesse is the same it was, and the five ships went from London, whereof one was reported more then three hundred tunnes, found fish so much, that neither Izeland man, nor Newfoundland man I could heare of hath bin there, will go any more to either place, if they may go thither. So that upon the good returne of my Vice-Admirall, this yeere are gone 4 or 5 saile from Plimoth, and from London as many, only to make voyages of profit:

*The
successe of
my Vice-
Admirall.*

whereas if all the English had bin there till my returne, put all their returnes together, they would scarce make one a savour of neere a dozen I could nominate, except one sent by Sir Francis Popam; though there be fish sufficient, as I am perswaded, to fraught yeerely foure or five hundred Saile, or as many as will goe. For this fishing stretcheth along the Sea Coast from Cape James to Newfoundland, which is seven or eight hundred miles at the least, and hath his course in the deepes, and by the shore, all the yere long, keeping their hants and feedings, as the beasts of the field, and the birds of the aire. But all men are not such as they should be, that have undertaken those voyages: All the Romans were not Scipioes, nor Carthagenians Hanibals, nor all the Genweses Columbusses, nor all the Spaniards Courteses: had they dived no deeper in the secrets of their discoveries then we, or stopped at such doubts and poore accidentall chances, they had never beene remembred as they are, yet had they no such certainties to begin as we.

But to conclude, Adam and Eve did first begin this innocent worke to plant the earth to remaine to posterity, but not without labour, trouble and industry. Noe and his family began againe the second Plantation; and their seed as it still increased, hath still planted new Countries, and one Countrey another, and so the world to that estate it is: but not without much hazard, travell, mortalities, discontents, and many disasters. Had those worthy Fathers, and their memorable off-spring, not beene more diligent for us now in these ages, then we are to plant that yet is unplanted for the after livers. Had the seed of Abraham, our Saviour Christ, and his Apostles, exposed themselves to no more dangers to teach the Gospell then we, even wee our selves had at this present beene as salvage, and as miserable as the most barbarous Salvage, yet uncivilized. The Hebrewes and Lacedemonians, the Gothes, the Grecians, the Romanes, and the rest, what was it they would not undertake to

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inlarge their Territories, enrich their subjects, resist their enemies. Those that were the founders of those great Monarchies and their vertues, were no silvered idle golden Pharises, but industrious Iron steeled Publicans: They regarded more provisions and necessaries for their people, then Jewels, riches, ease, or delight for themselves; Riches were their Servants, not their Masters. They ruled (as Fathers, not as Tirants) their people as Children, not as Slaves; there was no disaster could discourage them; and let none thinke they incountred not with all manner of incumbrances. And what hath ever beene the worke of the greatest Princes of the Earth, but planting of Countries, and civilizing barbarous and inhumane Nations to civilitie and humanitie, whose eternall actions fills our Histories.

Lastly, the Portugals and Spaniards, whose ever-living actions before our eies will testifie with them our idlenesse, and ingratitude to all posterities, and the neglect of our duties, in our pietie and religion. We owe our God, our King and Countrey, and want of Charitie to those poore Salvages, whose Countrey wee challenge, use and possesse; except wee be but made to use, and marre what our forefathers made, or but onely tell what they did, or esteeme our selves too good to take the like paines. Was it vertue in them to provide that doth maintaine us, and basenesse in us to doe the like for others? Surely no. Then seeing we are not borne for our selves, but each to help other, and our abilities are much alike at the houre of our birth, and the minute of our death: seeing our good deeds or our bad by faith in Christs merits, is all we have, to carie our soules to heaven or hell. Seeing honor is our lives ambition, and our ambition after death to have an honorable memory of our life: and seeing by no meanes we would be abated of the dignities and glories of our predecessors, let us imitate their vertues to be worthily their successors: to conclude with Lucretius,

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Its want of reason, or its reasons want
Which doubts the minde and judgement, so doth dant,
That those beginnings makes men not to grant.

John Smith writ this with his owne hand.

*Here followeth a briefe Discourse of the trials of New England,
with certaine Observations of the Hollanders use and gaine
by fishing, and the present estate of that happy Plantation,
begun but by sixtie weake men, in the yeere of our Lord
1620. and how to build a fleet of good ships to make a
little Navy Royall, by the former Author.*

He saith, that it is more then foure and forty yeeres agoe, *M. Dee*
and it is more then fortie yeeres agoe since he writ it; that the *his report.*
Herring Busses out of the Low Countries under the King of
Spaine, were five hundred, besides one hundred French men,
and three or foure hundred saile of Flemings. The Coast
of Wales and Lancashire was used by 300 Saile of Strangers.
Ireland at Beltamore, fraughted yeerely three hundred saile of
Spaniards, where King Edward the sixt intended to have made
a strong Castle, because of the straight to have tribute for fish-
ing. Black Rocke was yerely fished by three or foure hundred
saile of Spaniards, Portugals, and Biskiners.

The Hollanders raise yeerely by Herring, Cod, and Ling, *The benefit*
thirty thousand pounds: English and French, by Salt-fish, *of fishing,*
Poore-John, Salmons, and Pilchards, three hundred thousand *as Mr.—,*
pounds: Hambrough and the Sound, for Sturgion, Lobsters *Gentleman,*
and Eeles, one hundred thousand pounds: Cape Blanke for *and others*
Tunny and Mullit, by the Biskiners and Spaniards, thirty *report.*
thousand pounds.

That the Duke of Medina receiveth yeerely tribute of the *The Records*
Fishers, for Tunny, Mullit, and Porgos, more then ten thou- *of Holland*
sand pounds. Lubecke hath seven hundred ships; Hambrough *learned*
observers.

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six hundred; Emden lately a Fisher towne, one thousand foure hundred, whose customes by fishing hath made them so powerfull as they be. Holland and Zeland not much greater then Yorkeshire, hath thirty walled Townes, foure hundred Villages, and twenty thousand saile of Ships and Hoies; three thousand six hundred are Fisher-men, whereof one hundred are Doggers, seven hundred Pinkes and Well-Boats, seven hundred Fraud-boats, Britters, and Tode-boats, with thirteene hundred Busses, besides three hundred that yeerely fish about Yarmouth, where they sell their fish for Gold: and fifteene yeeres agoe they had more then an hundred and sixteene thousand Sea-faring men.

These fishing ships doe take yeerely two hundred thousand last of fish, twelve barrels to a last, which amounts to 300000. pounds by the fisher mens price, that 14. yeeres agoe did pay for their tenths three hundred thousand pound, which venting in Pumerland, Sprustia, Denmarke, Lefeland, Russia, Swethland, Germany, Netherlands, England, or else where, &c. makes their returnes in a yeere about threescore and ten hundred thousand pounds, which is seven millions; and yet in Holland there is neither matter to build ships nor merchandize to set them forth, yet by their industry they as much increase as other nations decay; but leaving these uncertainties as they are, of this I am certaine.

That the coast of England, Scotland and Ireland, the North Sea with Island and the Sound, Newfound-land and Cape Blanke, doe serve all Europe, as well the land townes as ports, and all the Christian shipping, with these sorts of staple fish, which is transported from whence it is taken many a thousand mile, viz. Herring, salt Fish, Poore-John, Sturgion, Mullit, Tunny, Porgos, Caviare, Buttargo.

Now seeing all these sorts of fish, or the most part of them may be had in a land more fertill, temperate and plentifull of all necessaries, for the building of ships, boats and houses, and

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the nourishment of man, the seasons are so proper, and the fishings so neere the habitations we may there make, that New-England hath much advantage of the most of those parts, to serve all Europe farre cheaper then they can, who at home have neither wood, salt, nor food, but at great rates, at Sea nothing but what they carry in their ships, an hundred or two hundred leagues from the habitation. But New-Englands fishings is neere land, where is helpe of Wood, Water, Fruits, Fowles, Corne or other refreshings needfull, and the Terceras, Mederas, Canaries, Spaine, Portugall, Prouaves, Savoy, Sicillia, and all Italy, as convenient markets for our dry fish, greene fish, Sturgion, Mullit, Caviare and Buttargo, as Norway, Swethland, Littuania or Germany for their Herring, which is heare also in abundance for taking; they returning but Wood, Pitch, Tar, Sope-ashes, Cordage, Flax, Wax, and such like commodities; wee Wines, Oiles, Sugars, Silkes, and such merchandize as the Straits affoord, whereby our profit may equalize theirs, besides the increase of shipping and Marriners: and for prooffe hereof,

In the yeere of our Lord 1614. you have read how I went from London:¹ also the next yeere 1615. how foure good

¹ (*Details of the voyage from London, 1614. New England's Trials, Second edition, 1622. Arber edition, Captain J. Smith, Works, p. 256.*)

With two ships sent out at the charge of Captain Marmaduke Roydon, Captain George Langam, Master John Buley and W. Skelton, I went from the Downes the third of March, and arrived in New England the last of April, where I was to have stayed but with ten men to keepe possession of those large territories, had the Whales proved, as curious information had assured me and my adventures, (but those things failed.) So having but fortie five men and boyes, we built seven boats: 37 did fish; myself with eight others ranging the coast. I tooke a plot of what I could see, got acquaintance of the inhabitants; 1100 Bever skins, 100 Martins, and as many Otters. 40000 of drie fish we sent for Spaine: with the salt fish, traine oile, and Furres, I returned for England, the 18 of July, and arived safe with my company the latter end of August. Thus in six months I made my voyage out and home; and by the labour of 45, got neare the value of 1500 pounds in those grosse commodities.

This yeare also one went from Plimmoth, set out by divers of the Isle of Wight and the West county, by the directions and instructions of Sir Ferdinando Gorge, spent their victuals, and returned with nothing. (*Nicholas Hobson.*)

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ships went from London,¹ and I with two more from Plimoth, with all our accidents, successes and returnes: in the yeere 1616.² ere I returned from France, the Londoners for all their

¹ (*Details of voyage, 1615. Second voyage to New England. Ibid, 256, 257.*)

The Virginia Company, upon this, sent 4 good ships; and because I would not undertake it for them, having ingaged my selfe to them of the West, the Londoners entertained the men that came home with me. They set saile in January and arrived here in March; they found fish enough untill halfe June, fraughted a ship of 300 Tuns, went for Spain, which was taken by the Turks: one went to Virginia to relieve that Colonie, and two came for England with greene fish, traine oile and Furies within six moneths.

In January with 200 pounds in cash for adventure, and six Gentlemen well furnished, I went from London to the foure shippes was promised, prepared for me in the West country; but I found no such matter: notwithstanding at the last with a labyrinth of trouble I went from Plimmoth with a ship of 200 Tuns, and one of fiftie: when the fishing was done, onely with 15 I was to stay in the country.

But ill weather breaking all my masts, I was forced to returne to Plimmoth; where rather than lose all, reimbarkeing my selfe in a Bark of 60 Tuns: how I escaped the English pyrates and the French, and was betrayed by foure French men of warre, I referre you to the Description of New England: but my Vice-Admirall, notwithstanding the latenesse of the yeare, setting forth with me in March, the Londoners in January, she arrived in May, they in March; yet come home well fraught in August, and all her men well, within 5 months, odde days.

² (*Details of voyages of 1615, 1616, 1617. Ibid, 257, 258.*)

The Londoners ere I returned from France, [Dec. 1615,] for all their losse by the Turks, which was valued about 4000 pounds, sent two more in July [1615], but such courses they took by the Canaries to the West Indies, it was ten moneths ere they arived in New England [May, 1616], wasting in that time their seasons, victuall and healths, yet there they found meanes to refresh themselves: and the one returned, neare fraught with fish and traine, within 2 moneths after.

From Plimmoth went four ships onely to fish and trade, some in Februarie [1616], some in March; one of 200 Tuns got thither in a month, and went full fraught for Spain; but the rest returned to Plimmoth well fraught, and their men well, within five moneths, odd dayes.

From London went two more: one of 200 Tuns, got thither in six weeks, and within six weeks after with 44 men and boyes was full fraught, and returned again into England within five moneths and a few dayes; the other went to the Canaries with drie fish, which they sold at a great rate, for Rials of 8, and as I heard turned pirats.

I being at Plimmoth provided with 3 good ships, yet but fiteene men to stay with me in the country, was Wind-bound three moneths, as was many a hundred saile more, so that the season being past, the ships went for Newfoundland, whereby my designe was frustrate: which was to me and my friends

losse by the Turkes, sent foure ships more; foure more also went from Plimoth; after I returned from France, I was perswaded againe to goe to Plimoth with divers of my friends with one hundred pound for our adventures besides our charges, but wee found all things as untoward as before, and all their great promises nothing but aire: yet to prepare the voyage against the next yeere, having acquainted a great part of the Nobility with it, and ashamed to see the Prince his Highnesse till I had done some what worthy his Princely view; I spent that Summer in visiting the Cities and Townes of Bristoll, Exeter, Bastable, Bodnam, Perin, Foy, Milborow, Saltash, Dartmouth, Absom, Tattnesse, and the most of the Gentry in Cornewall and Devonshire, giving them Bookes and Maps, shewing how in six moneths the most of those ships had made their voyages, and some in lesse, and with what good successe; by which incitation they seemed so well contented, as they promised twenty saile of ships should goe with mee next yeere, and in regard of my paines, charge, and former losses, the westerne Commissioners in behalfe of themselves and the rest of the Company, and them hereafter that should be joyned to them, contracted with me by articles indented under our hands, to be Admirall of that Country during my life, and in the renewing of their Letters-Patents so to be nominated. Halfe the fruits of our endeavours to be theirs, the rest our owne; being thus ingaged, now the businesse is made plaine and likely to prosper, some of them would not onely forget me and their promises, but also obscure me, as if I had never beene acquainted in the businesse, but I am not the first they have deceived.

*My sute
to the
Country.*

no small losse, in regard whereof here the Westerne Commissioners, in the behalfe of themselves and the rest of the Companie, contracted with me by articles indented under our hands, to be Admirall of that Country during my life, and in the renewing of their Letters patents so to be nominated, halfe the fruits of our endeavours theirs, the rest our owne; being thus ingaged, now the businesse doth prosper, some of them would willingly forget me; but I am not the first they have deceived.

1618.

There was foure good ships prepared at Plimoth, but by reason of their disagreement, the season so wasted, as onely two went forward, the one being of two hundred tunnes, returned well fraught to Plimoth, and her men in health, within five moneths; the other of fourescore tunnes went for Bilbow¹ with drie fish and made a good returne. In this voyage Edward Rowcroft, alias Stallings, a valiant Souldier, that had beene with me in Virginia, and was with me also when I was betrayed by the French, was sent againe in those ships, and having some wrong offered him there by a French man, he tooke him, and as he writ to me, went with him to Virginia with fish, to trade with them for such commodities as they might spare: he had not past ten or twelve men, and knew both those countries well, yet he promised me the next spring to meet me in New-England, but the ship and he both perished in Virginia.

1619.

This yeere againe, divers ships intending to goe from Plimoth, so disagreed, there went but one of two hundred tunnes, who stayed in the Country about six weeks, which with eight and thirty men and boies had her freight, which she sold at the first penny for 2100 besides the Furres: so that every poore Sailer that had but a single share had his charges and sixteene pound ten shillings for his seven moneths worke. Master Thomas Dirmire an understanding and industrious Gentleman, that was also with me amongst the French men, having lived about a yeere in Newfoundland, returning to Plimoth, went for New-England in this ship, so much approved of this Country, that he staid there with five or six men in a little Boat, finding two or three French men amongst the Salvages who had lost their ship, augmented his company, with whom he ranged the Coast to Virginia, where he was kindly welcommed and well refreshed, thence returned to New-England againe, where having beene a yeere, in his backe returne to Virginia he was so wounded by the Salvages, he died upon it; let not men

¹ Bilboa.

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attribute these their great adventures, and untimely deaths to unfortunatenesse, but rather wonder how God did so long preserve them with so small meanes to doe so much, leaving the fruits of their labours to be an incouragement to those our poore undertakings, and as warnings for us not to undertake such great workes with such small meanes, and this for advantage as they writ unto me, that God had laid this Country open for us, and slaine the most part of the inhabitants by civill warres and a mortall disease, for where I had seene one hundred or two hundred Salvages, there is scarce ten to be found, and yet not any one of them¹ touched with any sicknesse but one poore French man that died;

They say this plague upon them thus sore fell,
It was because they pleas'd not Tantum² well.

From the West Country to make triall this yeere onely to fish, is gone six or seven saile, three of which I am certainly informed made so good a voyage, that every Sailer that had a single share had twenty pound for his seven moneths work, which is more then in twenty moneths he should have gotten, had he gone for wages any where. Now although these former ships have not made such good voiajes as they expected, by sending opinionated unskilfull men, that had not experienced diligence to save that they tooke, nor take that there was, which now patience and practice hath brought to a reasonable kinde of perfection; in despiht of all detractors and calumniations the Country yet hath satisfied all, the defect hath beene in their using or abusing it, not in itselke nor me: But,

Aduerse desert, for fortune makes provision
For Knaves and Fooles, and men of base condition.

Now all these proofes and this relation I now called New-
Englands triall. I caused two or three thousand of them to be *My sute to
the Citie.*

¹ *I.e.*, of the adventurers.

² The Great Spirit.

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printed, one thousand with a great many Maps both of Virginia and New-England. I presented to thirty of the chiefe Companies in London at their Halls, desiring either generally or particularly (them that would) to imbrace it, and by the use of a stocke of five thousand pound, to ease them of the superfluity of most of their companies that had but strength and health to labour; neere a yeere I spent to understand their resolutions, which was to me a greater toile and torment, then to have beene in New-England about my businesse but with bread and water, and what I could get there by my labour; but in conclusion, seeing nothing would be effected, I was contented as well with this losse of time and charge as all the rest.

A Plantation in New-England.

1620.

Upon these inducements some few well disposed Gentlemen, and Merchants of London and other places, provided two ships, the one of a hundred and threescore tunnes, the other of threescore and ten, they left the Coast of England the two and thirtieth of August, with about a hundred and twenty persons, but the next day the lesser ship sprung a leake, that forced their returne to Plimoth, where discharging her and twenty passengers; with the greater ship and one hundred passengers¹ besides Sailers, they set saile againe the sixt of September, and the ninth of November fell with Cape James, but being pestred nine weekes in this leaking unwholsome ship, lying wet in their Cabins, most of them grew very weake and weary of the Sea; then for want of experience, ranging two and againe six weekes before they found a place they liked to dwell on, forced to lie on the bare ground without coverture, forty of them died, and threescore were left in a very weake estate at the ships comming away, about the fifth of Aprill following, and arrived

¹ There were 102 passengers besides the crew.

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in England the sixth of May. Though the Harbour be good, the shore is so shallow, they were forced to wade a great way up to the knees in water, & used that that did them much hurt; & little fish they found but Whailes, and a great kinde of Mustell so fat, that few did eat of them that were not sicke: these miseries occasioned some discord, and gave some appearance of faction, but all was so reconciled, that they united themselves by common consent under their hands, to a kinde of combination of a body politike, by vertue whereof to inact and constitute lawes and ordinances, and Officers from time to time, as should bee thought most convenient for their generall good.

Sixteene or seventeene daies they could doe little for want of their Shallop which was amending, yet Captaine Miles Standish, unto whom was joyned in Councell, William Bradfor, Stephen Hopkins and Edward Tilly, went well armed a shore, and by that time they had gone a mile, met five or six Indians that fled into the Woods: we¹ traced them by the footing eight or ten miles, then the night approaching we made a fire, by which we lay that night, and the next morning followed the Salvages by their tract, thinking to finde their habitations, but by the way we found a Deere amongst many faire springs of water, where we refreshed our selves; then we went ashore and made a fire, that they at the ship might perceive where we were, and so marched to a place where we supposed was a River; by the way we saw many Vines, Saxefras, haunts of Deere & Fowle, and some fifty Acres of plaine ground had beene planted by the Indians, where were some of their graves; from thence we followed a path that brought us through three or foure fields that had bin planted that yeere; in one grave we digged, we found a basket or two of Indian Corne, so much as we could carry we tooke with us, the rest we buried as we found

*Their first
journey by
land.*

¹ Smith here adopts the language of the Pilgrim story, probably using Mourt's "Relation."

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it, and so proceeded to the place we intended, but we found it not such a Harbour as we expected; and so we returned, till the night caused us take up our lodging under a tree, where it rained six or seven houres: the next morning as we wandred, we passed by a tree, where a young sprig was bowed downe over a bough, and some Acornes strewed under it, which was one of their Gins to catch a Deere, and as we were looking at it, Bradford was suddenly caught by the leg in a noosed Rope, made as artificially as ours; as we passed we see a lease of Bucks, sprung some Partriges, and great flocks of wilde Geese and Ducks, and so we returned well wearied to our ship.

*Their first
journey by
Shallop.*

Master Jones our Master with foure and thirty men, also went up and downe in the frost and snow, two or three daies in the extremity of the cold, but could finde no harbour; only among the old graves we got some ten bushels of Corne, some Beanes, and a bottle of Oile; and had we not thus haply found it, we had had no Corne for seede, so that place we ever called Corne-hill; the next day Master Jones with the Corne and our weakest men returned to the Ship, but eightene of us quartered there that night, and in the morning following the paths, wee found in the Snow in a field a greater hill or grave then the rest, digging it wee found first a Mat, under that a boord three quarters long, painted and carved with three Tyns at the top like a Cronet, betweene the Mats also were Bowles, Traies and Dishes and such trash, at length we found a faire new Mat, and under that two bundles, the one biggar the other lesse; in the greater wee found a great quantity of fine red powder like a kinde of imbalmement, and yeelded a strong but no offensive smell, with the bones and skull of a man that had fine yellow haire still on it, and some of the flesh unconsumed, a Knife, a Pack-needle, and two or three old Iron things was bound up in a Sailers canvase Cassocke, also a paire of cloth Breeches; in the lesse bundle we found likewise of the same powder, and the bones and head of a little childe; about the legs and other

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parts of it was bound strings and braslets of white beades, there was also a little Bow, and some other odde knacks, the prettiest we tooke, and covered againe the corps as they were: not farre from thence were two of their houses, where were a great deale of their miserable household stuffe, which we left as wee found, and so returned to our Boat, and lay aboard that night.

Many arguments we had to make here our Plantation or not; in the Intrim, Mistris White was brought to bed of a young sonne, which was called Perigrine: and a Sailer shooting at a Whale, his peece flew in peeces stocke and all, yet he had no hurt. A foolish boy discharging his fathers peece hard by halfe a barrell of Powder, and many people by it, it pleased God it escaped firing, so that no hurt was done. *Accidents.*

But to make a more certaine discovery where to seat our selves, Captaine Standish, Master Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winsloe, John Tilly, Edward Tilly, with divers others to the number of seventeene, upon the sixt of December set saile, and having sailed six or seven leagues, we espied eight or ten Salvages about a dead Grampus: still following the shore we found two or three more cast up by the ill weather, many we see in the water, therefore we called it Grampus Bay: Ships may ride well in it, but all the shore is very shallow flats of sand; at last seven or eight of us went a shore,¹ many fields we saw where the Salvages had inhabited, and a buriall place incompassed with a Palizado, so we returned to our Shallop, in the night we heard a hideous cry and howling of Wolves and Foxes; in the morning as we were ready to goe into our Shallop, one of our men being in the woods, came running crying, Indians, Indians, and with all their Arrowes flying amongst us, some of our men being in the boat, and their Armes a shore, so well it chanced, Captaine Standish with two or three more *Their second journey by water to finde a place to plant in.*

¹ Probably at Great Meadow Creek (or Herring River) in the town of Eastham.

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*Their first
fight with
the Sal-
vages.*

discharged their peeces till the rest were ready, one Salvage more stout than the rest kept under a tree, till he had shot three or foure Arrowes, and endured three or foure Musket shot, but at last they all fled, this was about breake of day in the morning when they saw us, and we not them.

*The descrip-
tion of their
place to
plant in.*

Having the winde faire, we sailed along the coast 8. or 10. leagues, thinking to have got to a Harbour where one of our company had beene, within 8. leagues of Cape Cod, for neither cricke nor Harbour in this bay we could finde; and the wind so increased, our Rudder broke, and our Mast flew over-board, that we were in danger to be cast away, but at last it pleased God we were in a harbor we knew not, thinking it one we were acquainted with, this we found to be an Ile where we rid that night, and having well viewed the land about it, and sounded the Bay to be a good Harbour for our ship, compassed with good land, and in it two faire Iles, where there is in their seasons innumerable store of all sorts of fish and fowle, good water, much plaine land, which hath beene planted; with this newes we returned to our ship, and with the next faire wind brought her thither, being but within the sight of Cape Cod; in the meane time Goodwife Alderton was delivered of a sonne, but dead borne. Upon the 28. of December, so many as could went to worke upon the hill, where we purposed to build our Platforme for our ordnance, which doth command all the Plaine and the Bay, and from whence wee may see so far into the Sea, and be easily impailed, so in the afternoone we went to measure out the grounds, and divided our company into 19. families, alotting to every person halfe a poule in bredth and three in length, and so we cast lots where every man should lie, which we staked out, thinking this proportion enough at the first to impale for lodgings and gardens.

*Another Boy
borne in
New-
England.*

*Their first
Plantation.*

*Two faire
Lakes.*

Francis Billington from the top of a tree seeing a great water some three miles from us in the land, went with the Masters Mate, and found it two great Lakes of fresh water, the bigger

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five or six miles in circuit, and an Ile in it of a Cables length square; the other three miles in compasse, full of fish and fowle, and two brooks issuing from it, which will be an excellent helpe in time for us, where they saw seven or eight Indian houses, but no people. Foure being sent a mile or two from our plantation, two of them stragling into the woods was lost, for comming to a Lake of water they found a great Deere, having a mastive Bitch and a Spanell with them, they followed so farre they could not finde the way backe, that afternoone it rained, and did freeze and snow at night; their apparell was very thin, and had no weapons but two sickles, nor any victuals, nor could they finde any of the Salvages habitations; when the night came they were much perplexed that they had no other bed then the earth, nor coverture then the skies, but that they heard, as they thought, two Lions roaring a long time together very nigh them, so not knowing what to doe, they resolved to climbe up into a tree, though that would be an intollerable cold lodging, expecting their coming they stood at the trees root, and the bitch they held fast by the necke, for shee would have beene gone to the Lions or what they were, that as it chanced came not nigh them, so they watched the tree that extreme cold night, and in the morning travelling againe, passing by many lakes, brooks and woods, and in one place where the Salvages had burnt 4. or 5. miles in length, which is a fine champion Country, in the afternoone they discovered the two Iles in their Bay, and so that night neere famished they got to their Plantation, from whence they had sent out men every way to seeke them; that night the house they had built and thatched, where lay their armes, bedding, powder, &c. tooke fire and was burnt, the Coast is so shoule, the ship rides more then a mile from the Fort, but God be thanked no man was hurt though much was burnt.

*Two men
lost them-
selves in
the woods.*

All this time we could not have conference with a Salvage, though we had many times seene them and had many alarums,

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*Their first
conference
with a
Salvage.*

so that we drew a Councell, and appointed Captaine Standish to have the command of all martiall actions, but even in the time of consultation the Salvages gave an alarum: the next day also as wee were agreeing upon his orders, came a tall Salvage boldly amongst us, not fearing anything, and kindly bad us welcome in English; he was a Sagamo, towards the North,¹ where the ships use to fish, and did know the names of most of the Masters that used thither: such victuall as we had we gave him, being the first Salvage we yet could speake with, he told us this place where we were was called Patuxet, and that all the people three or foure yeeres agoe there died on the plague: in a day or two we could not be rid of him, then he returned to the Massasoyts from whence he came, where is some sixty people, but the Nawsits are 100. strong, which were they encountred our people at the first. Two daies after this Samoset, for so was his name, came againe, and brought five or six of the Massasoyts with him, with certaine skinnes, and certaine tooles they had got that we had left in the woods at their alarums: much friendship they promised, and so departed, but Samoset would not leave us, but fained himselfe sicke, yet at last he went to entreat the Salvages come againe to confirme a peace: now the third time, as we were consulting of our Marshall orders, two Salvages appeared, but when we went to them they vanished: not long after came Samoset, & Squanto, a native of Patuxet where we dwell, and one of them carried into Spaine by Hunt,² then brought into England, where a good time he lived; and now here signified unto us, their great Sachem of Massasoyt, with Quadaquina his brother, and all

*The second
conference.*

¹ It is supposed that Samoset belonged at Monhegan. "He is identified as the Capt. John Somerset mentioned in a deed of July 15, 1625, and in many ways connected with the territory near Pemaquid." Cf. Ford's *Bradford*, I, 199.

² Thomas Hunt, master of Smith's companion-ship in the voyage of 1614. Squanto and other Indians were sold by Hunt in Spain. Squanto was one of those who were brought back to England. He returned to America with Captain Thomas Dermer, Smith's Vice-Admiral in the ill-starred voyage of 1615, when Smith was captured by the French pirates.

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their men, was there by to see us: not willing to send our Governour, we sent Edward Wollislo¹ with presents to them both, to know their minds, making him to understand by his Interpreters how King James did salute him and was his friend; after a little conference with twenty of his men, he came over the brooke to our Plantation, where we set him upon a rug, and then brought our Governour to him with Drums and Trumpets; where after some circumstances, for they use few complements, we treated of peace with them to this effect.

That neither he nor any of his should injury or doe hurt to any of us; if they did, he should send us the offender, that we might punish him, and wee would doe the like to him: if any did unjustly warre against him, we would aid him, as he should us against our enemies, and to send to his neighbour confederats to certifie them of this, that they might likewise be comprised in these conditions, that when any of them came to us, they should leave their Bow and Arrowes behinde them, as we would our peeces when we came to them, all of which the King seemed to like well of, and was applauded of his followers, in his person hee is a very lusty man, in his best yeeres, an able body, grave of countenance, and spare of speech: in his attire little differing from the rest; after all was done, the Governour conducted him to the brooke, but kept our hostage till our messengers returned: in like manner we used Quaddaquina, so all departed good friends.

Their conditions of peace.

Two of his people would have staid with us, but wee would not permit them, onely Samoset and Squanto wee entertained kindly; as yet wee have found they intend to keepe promise, for they have not hurt our men they have found stragling in the Woods, and are afraid of their powerfull Adversaries the Narrohiggansets, against whom hee hopes to make use of our helpe. The next day Squanto went a fishing for Eeles, and in an houre he did tread as many out of the Ose with his

¹ Winslow.

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feet as he could lift with his hand, not having any other instrument.

*A journey
to
Pakanoki.*

But that we might know their habitations so well as they ours, Stephen Hopkins and Edward Winslo had Squantum for their guide and Interpreter; to Packanoki, the habitation of the King of Massasoyt, with a red horseman's coat for a present, to entreat him by reason we had not victuall to entertaine them as we would, he would defend¹ his people so much from visiting us; and if hee did send, he should alwaies send with the Messenger a copper Chaine they gave him, that they might know he came from him, and also give them some of his Corne for seede: that night they lodged at Namascet, some fiftene miles off: by the way we found ten or twelve women and children that still would pester us till we were weary of them, perceiving it is the manner of them, where victuall is to be gotten with most ease, there they will live; but on the River of Namaschet have beene many habitations of the Salvages that are dead, and the land lies waste, and the River abounding with great plenty of fish, and hath beene much frequented by the French.

*A great
courage of
two old
Salvages.*

*How the
King used
them.*

The next day travelling with six or seven Indians, where we were to wade over the River, did dwell onely two old men of that Nation then living, that thinking us enemies, sought the best advantage they could to fight with us, with a wonderfull shew of courage, but when they knew us their friends they kindly welcommed us; after we came to a towne of the Massasoits, but at Pakanoki the King was not: towards night he arrived and was very proud, both of our message and presents, making a great oration to all his people, Was not he Massasoit, Commander of the country about him, was not such a towne his, and the people of it, and 20. townes more he named was his? and should they not bring their skins to us? to which they answered they were his and they would; victual they had

¹ *I.e.*, forbid or prevent.

none, nor any lodging, but a poore planke or two, a foot high from the ground, whereon his wife and he lay at the one end, we at the other, but a thin Mat upon them, two more of his chiefe men pressed by and upon us, so that we were worse weary of our lodging then of our journey. Although there is such plenty of fish and fowle and wild beasts, yet are they so lasie they will not take paines to catch it till meere hunger constraineth them, for in two or three daies we had scarce a meales meat, whereby we were so faint, we were glad to be at home: besides what for the fleas, and their howling and singing in the night in their houses, and the Musketas without doores, our heads were as light for want of sleepe, as our bellies empty for want of meat. The next voiage we made was in a Shallop with ten men to Nawsit, sixteene miles from us, to fetch a Boy¹ was lost in the Woods we heard was there, whom Aspinet their King had bedecked like a salvage, but very kindly he brought him to us, and so returned well to Patuyet.

Immediately after the arrival of the last ship, they sent 1621. another of five and fifty tuns to supply them; with seven and thirty persons they set saile in the beginning of July, but being crossed by westernly winds, it was the end of August ere they could passe Plimoth, and arrived in New-England at New-Plimoth, now so called the 11. of November, where they found all the people they left so ill, lusty and well for all their poverities, except six that died: a moneth they stayed ere they returned to England, loaded with Clap-boord, Wainscot and Wallnut, with about three hogs-heads of Bever skinnes the 13. of December: and drawing neere our coast was set on by a French man set out by the Marquesse of Cera, Governour of Ile Deu,² where they kept the ship, imprisoned the Master and company, tooke from them to the value of 500 pound, and

¹ John Billington, who had got lost in the woods.

² "Ile d'Use," or "Ile Dieu," on the coast of Poitou. The name of this ship was the *Fortune*, and the master was Thomas Barton. For the story of this mishap see Ford's *Bradford*, I, pp. 268-9.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

after 14. daies sent them home with a poore supply of victuall, their owne being devoured by the Marquesse and his hungry servants.¹

Now you are to understand this 37. brought nothing, but relied wholly on us to make us more miserable then before, which the Sachem Covanacus² no sooner understood, but sent to Tusquantum our Interpreter, a bundle of new arrowes in a Snakes skinne; Tusquantum being absent, the Messenger departed, but when we understood it was a direct challenge, we returned the skin full of powder and shot, with an absolute defiance, which caused us finish our fortification with all expedition. Now betwixt our two Salvages, Tusquantum and Hobbamock, grew such great emulation, we had much adoe to know

¹ They arived at London the 14 of Februarie [1622], leaving all them they found and caried to New England well and in health, with victuall and corne sufficient till the next harvest.

(A copie of Letter sent by this ship, written by one of the 37 new settlers who came in the ship. Ibid, 260, 261.)

Loving cousin, at our arival at New Plimmoth in New England, we found all our friends and planters in good health, though they were left sicke and weake with very small meanes, the Indians round about us peaceable and friendly, the country very pleasant and temperate, yeelding naturally of it self great store of fruites, as vines of divers sorts in great abundance. There is likewise walnuts, chesnuts, small nuts and plums, with much varietie of flowers, rootes and herbs no lesse pleasant than wholesome and profitable: no place hath more goose-berries and straw-berries, nor better. Timber of all sorts you have in England, doth cover the Land, that affords beasts of divers sorts, and great flocks of Turkeys, Quailes, Pigeons, and Patriges: many great lakes abounding with fish, fowle, Bevers, and Otters. The sea affords us as great plenty of all excellent sorts of sea-fish, as the rivers and Iles doth varietie of wilde fowle of most usefull sorts. Mines we find to our thinking, but neither the goodnesse nor qualitie we know. Better grain cannot be then the Indian corne, if we will plant it upon as good ground as a man need desire. We are all free-holders, the rent day doth not trouble us; and all those good blessings we have, of which and what we list in their seasons for taking. Our companie are for most part very religious honest people; the word of God sincerely taught us every Sabbath: so that I know not anything a contented mind can here want. I desire your friendly care to send my wife and children to me, where I wish all the friends I have in England, and so I rest

Your loving kinsman,

WILLIAM HILTON.

[The probable date of this letter is about 13 Dec. 1621. Arber, page 261.]

² Canonicus, of the Narragansetts.

which best to trust. In a journey we undertooke, in our way we met a Salvage of Tusquantums, that had cut his face fresh bleeding, to assure us Massasoyt our supposed friend, had drawne his forces to Packanokick to assault us. Hobomak as confidently assured us it was false, and sent his wife as an espy to see; but when she perceived all was well, shee told the King Massasoyt how Tusquantum had abused him, divers Salvages also hee had caused to beleieve we would destroy them, but he would doe his best to appease us; this he did onely to make his Countrymen beleieve what great power hee had with us to get bribes on both sides, to make peace or warre when he would, and the more to possesse them with feare, he perswaded many we had buried the plague in our store house, which wee could send when we listed whither wee would, but at last all his knavery being discovered, Massasowat sent his knife with Messengers for his head or him, being his subject; with much adoe we appeased the angry King and the rest of the Salvages, and freely forgave Tusquantum, because he speaking our language we could not well be without him.

A journey to the Towne of Namaschet, in defence of the King of Massasoyt, against the Narrohigganses, and the supposed death of Squantum.

A great difference there was betwixt the Narrohigganses and the Massasoytes, that had alwaies a jealousie; Coubatant¹ one of their petty Sachems was too conversant with the Narrohigganses, this Coubatant lived much at Namaschet, and much stormed at our peace with his King and others; also at Squantum, and Tokamahamon, and Hobomak our friends, and chiefe

¹ Corbitant, sachem of Pocasset. His principal abode was at Gardner's Neck, in the town of Swansea.

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occasioners of our peace, for which he sought to murder Hobomak; yet Tokamahamon went to him upon a rumour he had taken Masasoyt prisoner, or forced him from his Country, but the other two would not, but in privat to see if they could heare what was become of their King; lodging at Namaschet they were discovered to Coubatant, who surprized the house and tooke Squantum, saying, if hee were dead the English had lost their tongue; Hobomak seeing that, and Coubatant held a knife at his brest, being a strong lusty fellow, brake from them and came to New-Plimoth, full of sorrow for Squantum, whom he thought was slaine.

The next day we sent ten men with him armed to be revenged of Coubatan, who conducted us neere Namaschet, where we rested and refreshed our selves til midnight, and then we beset the house as we had resolved; those that entred the house demanded for Coubatant, but the Salvages were halfe dead with feare, we charged them not to stirre, for we came to hurt none but Coubatant, for killing Squantum, some of them seeking to escape was wounded, but at last perceiving our ends, they told us Coubatant was gone and all his men, and Squantum was yet living, & in the towne; in this hurly burly we discharged two peeces at randome, which much terrified all the inhabitants except Squantum and Tokamahamon, who though they knew not the end of our comming, yet assured themselves of our honesties, that we would not hurt them; the women and children hung about Hobomak, calling him friend, and when they saw we would hurt no women, the young youths cryed we are women; to be short we kept them all, and whilest we were searching the house for Coubatant, Hobomak had got to the top, and called Squantum & Tokamahamon, which came unto us accompanied with others, some armed, others naked, those that had bowes we tooke them from them, promising them againe when it was day; the house wee tooke for our quarter that night and discharged the prisoners, and the next morning

went to breakfast to Squantums house; thither came all them that loved us to welcome us, but all Coubatants faction was fled, then we made them plainly know the cause of our coming, & if their King Massasoyt were not well, we would be revenged upon the Narrohiggansets, or any that should doe injury to Hobomak, Squantum, or any of their friends; as for those were wounded we were sorry for it, and offered our Surgion should heale them, of this offer a man and a woman accepted, that went home with us, accompanied with Squantum, and many other knowne friends, that offered us all the kindnesse they could.

From the West of England there is gone ten or twelve ships to fish, which were all well fraughted: those that came first at Bilbow, made seventene pound a single share, besides Bevers, Otters, and Martins skinnies; but some of the rest that came to the same ports, that were all ready furnished, so glutted the market, that the price was abated, yet all returned so well contented, that they are a preparing to goe againe.

There is gone from the West Countrey onely to fish, five 1622. and thirtie ships, and about the last of Aprill two more from London; the one of one hundred tunnes, the other of thirtie, with some sixtie Passengers to supply the Plantation.¹ Now though the Turke and French hath beene somewhat too busie in taking our ships, would all the Christian Princes be truly at unitie, as his Royall Majestie our Sovereigne King James desireth, seventie Saile of good ships were sufficient to fire the most of his Coasts in the Levant, and make such a guard in the Straights of Hellespont, as would make the great Turke himselfe more affraid in Constantinople, then the smallest Red-Crosse that crosses the Seas would be, either of any French Pickaroun, or the Pirats of Algere.

¹ The *Charity* and the *Swan*, containing Mr. Weston's Wessagussett colony. But Plymouth entertained them for a time.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

An abstract of divers Relations sent from the Colony in New England, July 16. 1622.

Since the massacre in Virginia,¹ though the Indians continue their wonted friendship, yet wee are more wary of them then before; for their hands hath beene imbrued in much English blood, onely by too much confidence, but not by force, and we have had small supplies of any thing but men. Here I must intreat a little your favours to digresse, they did not kill the English in Virginia, because they were Christians: but for their weapons and Copper, which were rare novelties; but now they feare we may beat them out of their dens, which Lions and Tigers will not admit but by force. But must this be an argument for an English man, and discourage any in Virginia or New England: No, for I have tried them both, as you may reade at large in the Historie of Virginia; notwithstanding since I came from thence, the Honorable Company hath beene humble suiters to his Majestie, to get vagabonds and condemned men to goe thither; nay, so the businesse hath beene so abused, that so much scorned was the name of Virginia, some did chuse to be hanged ere they would goe thither, and were: Yet for all the worst of spight, detraction, and discouragement, and this lamentable massacre, there is more honest men now suiters to goe, then ever hath beene constrained knaves. And it is not unknowne to most men of understanding, how happy many of those Collumners hath thought themselves that they might be admitted; and yet pay for their passage to goe now to Virginia, and I feare mee there goeth too many of those, that hath shifted heere till they could no longer; and they will use that qualitie there till they hazard all.²

¹ March 22, 1622.

² (*Details of the trial in Virginia; number of men, etc. Arber, 262, 263.*)

For Virginia, I kept that country with 38, and had not to eate but what we had from the salvages. When I had ten men able to go abroad, our common wealth was very strong: with such a number I ranged the unknown country 14

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To range this Countrey of New England in like manner, I had but eight, as is said, and amongst their bruit conditions, I met many of their silly encounters, and I give God thanks, without any hurt at all to me, or any with mee. When your West-Countrey men were so wounded and tormented with the Salvages, though they had all the Politicke directions that had beene gathered from all the secret informations could be heard of, yet they found little, and returned with nothing. I speak not this out of vaine-glory, as it may be some gleaners, or some who were never there may censure me; but to let all men be assured by those examples, what those Salvages are, that

weeks; I had but 18 to subdue them all, with which great army I stayed six weekes before their greatest Kings habitations, till they had gathered together all the power they could; and yet the Dutch-men sent at a needlesse excessive charge did helpe Powhatan how to betray me.

Of their numbers we were uncertain; but them two honorable Gentlemen (Captain George Percie and Captain Francis West, two of the Phittiplaces, and some other such noble gentlemen and resolute spirits bore their shares with me, and now living in England) did see me take this murdering Opechankanough now their great King by the long locke on his head; with my pistole at his breast, I led him among his greatest forces, and before we parted made him fill our Bark of twenty Tuns with corne. When their own wants was such, I have given them part againe in pittie, and others have bought it againe to plant their fields.

For wronging a soldier but the value of a peny, I have caused Powhatan send his owne men to James Towne to receive their punishment at my discretion. It is true in our greatest extremitie they shot me, slue three of my men, and by the folly of them that fled tooke me prisoner; yet God made Pocahontas the Kings daughter the meanes to deliver me: and thereby taught me to know their trecheries to preserve the rest.

It was also my chance in single combat to take the King of Paspashegh prisoner: and by keeping him, forced his subjects to worke in chaines till I made all the country pay contribution, having little else whereon to live.

Twas in this time I was their President, and none can say in all that time I had a man slaine: but for keeping them in that feare I was much blamed both there and here: yet I left 500 behind me that, through their confidence, in six months came most to confusion, as you may reade at large in the description of Virginia.

When I went first to these desperate designes, it cost me many a forgotten pound to hire men to go; and procrastination caused more run away then went. But after the ice was broken, came many brave voluntaries: notwithstanding since I came from thence, the honorable Company have bin humble suiters to his Maiestie to get vagabonds and condemned men to go thither.

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thus strangely doe murder and betray our Countrymen: but to the purpose;¹

The Paragon with thirtie seven men sent to releeve them, miscaried twice upon our English Coast,² whereby they failed of their supplies. It is true, there hath beene taken one thousand Bases at a draught; and in one night twelve Hogsheads of Herrings: but when they wanted all necessities both for fishing and sustinance, but what they could get with their naked industry, they indured most extreme wants, having beene now neere two yeeres without any supply to any purpose, it is a wonder how they should subsist, much lesse so to resist the Salvages, fortifie themselves, plant sixtie acres of Corne, besides their Gardens that were well replenished with many usuall

*They
lived two
yeeres with-
out supply.*

¹ (*Riches and prosperity at Plimmoth. Ibid, 264.*)

What is already writ of the healthfulness of the aire, the richnesse of the soile, the goodnesse of the woods, the abundance of fruits, fish, and fowle in their season, they stil affirm that have bin there now neare 2 yeares, and at one draught they have taken 1000 basses, and in one night twelve hogsheads of herring. They are building a strong fort, they hope shortly to finish, in the interim they are wel provided: there number is about a hundred persons all in health, and well neare 60 acres of ground well planted with corne, besides their gardens well replenished with useful fruits; and if their Adventures would but furnish them with necessities for fishing, their wants would quickly be supplied.

To supply them this 16 of October [1622] is going the Paragon with 67 persons, and all this is done by privat mens purses. And to conclude in their owne words, should they write of all plenties they have found, they thinke they should not be beleevd.

(*Returns from further voyages. Ibid, 264, 265.*)

For the 26 saile of ships, the most I can yet understand is, Master Ambrose Iennens of London, and Master Abraham Iennens of Plimmoth sent (their Abraham) a ship of 220 Tuns, and the Nightengale of Porchmouth of 100; whose fish at the first penie came to 3150 pounds: in all they were 35 saile: and where in Newfoundland they shared six or seven pounds for a common man, in New England they shared 14 pounds; besides, six Dutch and French ships made wonderfull returnes in fures.

Abraham Jennens in 1622 bought a share in the Council of New England, and received a grant of the island of Monhegan where he began a plantation. Four years later he sold his rights at Monhegan for £50 to Abraham Shurt, the agent of two Bristol merchants, Gyles Elbridge and Robert Aldworth, the friend of Hakluyt and one of the promoters of Pring's voyage in 1603.

² In the fall and winter of 1622.

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fruits. But in the beginning of July came in two ships of Master Westons, though we much wanted our selves, yet we releevd them what we could: and to requite us, they destroyed our Corne and Fruits then planted, and did what they could to have done the like to us. At last they were transported to Wichaguscusset at the Massachusets, where they abused the Salvages worse then us. We having neither Trade, nor scarce any thing remaining, God sent in one Master Jones, and a ship of Westons had beene at Monahigan amongst the Fisher-men, that for Bever skinnnes and such Merchandize as wee had, very well refreshed us, though at deere rates. Weston left also his men a small Barke, and much good provision, and so set saile for England. Then wee joyned with them to trade to the Southward of Cape Cod, twice or thrice wee were forced to returne; first by the death of their Governor;¹ then the sicknesse of Captaine Standish. At last our Governor Master Bradford undertooke it himselfe to have found the passage betwixt the Shoules and the Maine, then Tusquantum our Pilot died, so that we returned to the Massachusets, where we found the trade spoiled, and nothing but complaints betwixt the Salvages and the English. At Nawset we were kindly used and had good trade, though we lost our Barge, the Salvages carefully kept both her wracke, and some ten Hogsheads of Corne three moneths, and so we returned some by land, some in the ship.

Captaine Standish being recovered, went to fetch them both, and traded at Namasket and Monomete, where the people had the plague, a place much frequented with Dutch and French. Here the Sachem put a man to death for killing his fellow at play, wherein they are so violent, they will play their coats from their backs, and also their wives, though many miles from them. But our provision decaying, Standish is sent to Mat-

*Tusquantum
at his death
desired the
English to
pray he
might go
dwell with
the English
mens God,
for theirs
was a good
God.*

¹ Richard Greene, Weston's brother-in-law, who died suddenly at Plymouth. Weston had gone back to England in the *Charity*. The "small Barke" was the *Swan*. For the story of Wessagussett, cf. Pratt's Narrative, Appendix A in this volume.

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They contrive to murder all the English.

tachist,¹ where they pretended their wonted love; yet it plainly appeared they intended to kill him. Escaping thence, wee went to Monomete, where we found nothing but bad countenances. Heare one Wittuwamat a notable villaine, would boast how many French and English hee had slaine: This Champion presenting a Dagger to the Sachem Canacum he had got from the English, occasioned us to understand how they had contrived to murder all the English in the Land, but having such a faire opportunitie, they would begin heere with us. Their scornfull usage made the Captaine so passionate to appease his anger and choler, their intent made many faire excuses for satisfaction: Scar a lusty Salvage, alwaies seeming the most to effect us, bestowed on us the best presents he had without any recompence, saying; Hee was rich enough to bestow such favours on his friends, yet had undertaken to kill the Captaine himselfe, but our vigilencies so prevented the advantage they expected, we safely returned, little suspecting in him any such treachery.²

The sickness of King Massasowat.

During this time a Dutch ship was driven a shore at Massasowat, whose King lay very sicke, now because it is a generall custome then for all their friends to visit them: Master Winslow, and Master Hamden, with Habamok for their guide, were sent with such Cordialls as they had to salute him; by the way they so oft heard the King was dead, Habamok would breake forth in those words, My loving Sachem, my loving Sachem, many have I knowne, but never any like thee, nor shall ever see the like amongst the Salvages; for he was no lier, nor bloudy and cruell like other Indians, in anger soone reclaimed, he would be ruled by reason, not scorning the advice of meane men, and governed his men better with a few strokes,

¹ In February, 1623.

² The Indians had been specially angered by the rash behavior of the colony at Wessagussett, but knew that if they attacked one English colony they must destroy the other one also. Probably the Indians knew what had happened in Virginia.

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then others with many: truly loving where he loved, yea he feared wee had not a faithfull friend left amongst all his Countrymen, shewing how oft he had restrained their malice, much more with much passion he spoke to this purpose, till at last we arrived where we found the Dutchmen but newly gone, and the house so full we could hardly get in. By their charmes they distempered us that were well, much more him that was sicke, women rubbing him to keep heat in him; but their charmes ended, understanding of us, though he had lost his sight, his understanding failed not; but taking Winslow by the hand, said, Art thou Winslow, Oh Winslow, I shall never see thee againe! Hobamock telling him what restauratives they had brought, he desired to taste them, with much adoe they got a little Confexion of many comfortable Conserves into his mouth, as it desolved he swallowed it, then desolving more of it in water, they scraped his tongue, which was al furred & swolne, and washed his mouth, and then gave him more of it to eat, and in his drinke, that wrought such an alteration in him in two or three houres, his eies opened to our great contents; with this and such brothes as they there provided for him, it pleased God he recovered: and thus the manner of his sicknesse and cure caused no small admiration amongst them.

*His cure
by the
English.*

During the time of their stay to see his recovery, they had sent to New Plimoth for divers good things for him, which he tooke so kindly, that he fully revealed all the former conspiracies against us, to which he had oft beene moved; and how that all the people of Powmet, Nawset, Succonet, Mat-tachist, Manamet, Augawam, and Capawac, were joyned to murder us; therefore as we respected our lives, kill them of Massachuset that were the authors; for take away the principals and the plot wil cease, thus taking our leaves, & arriving at our fort, we found our brave liberall friend of Pamet¹ drawing Standish to thejr Ambuscados, which being thus discovered, we

*The Kings
thankful-
nesse.*

¹ The one above-named as "Scar," from Pamet River on the Cape.

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sent him away, as though we knew nor suspected any thing. Them at the Massachusets, some were so vilde they served the Salvages for victuall, the rest sent us word the Salvages were so insolent, they would assault them though against their Commission, so fearfull they were to breake their Commission, so much time was spent in consultations, they all were famished, till Wassapinewat againe came and told them the day of their execution was at hand.

*Captaine
Standish
sent to sup-
presse the
Salvages.*

Then they appointed Standish with eight chosen men, under colour of Trade to catch them in their owne trap at Massachusets, & acquaint it with the English in the Towne, where arriving he found none in the Barke, and most of the rest without Armes, or scarce clothes, wandering abroad, all so sencelessly secure, he more then wondered they were not all slaine, with much adoe he got the most of them to their Towne. The Salvages suspecting their plots discovered, Pecksuot a great man, and of as great a spirit, came to Habamak, who was then amongst them, saying; Tell Standish we know he is come to kill us, but let him begin when he dare. Not long after many would come to the Fort and whet their Knives before him, with many braving speeches. One amongst the rest was by Wittawamat bragging he had a Knife, that on the handle had the picture of a womans face, but at home I have one hath killed both French & English, and that hath a mans face on it, and by and by these two must marrie: but this here, by and by shall see, and by and by eat, but not speake; Also Pecksuot being of a greater stature then the Captaine, told him, though he were a great Captaine he was but a little man, and I though no Sachem, yet I am of great strength and courage. These things Standish bare patiently for the present; but the next day seeing he could not get many of them together, but these two Roarers, and two more being in a convenient roome, and his company about him, Standish seased on Pecksuots Knife then hanging about his necke, wherewith he slew

*Two
desperate
Salvages
slaine.*

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him, and the rest slew Wittuwamat and the other Salvage, but the youth they tooke, who being Brother to Wittuwamat, and as villanous as himselfe, was hanged. It is incredible how many wounds they indured, catching at their weapons without any feare or bruit, till the last gasp. Habamack stood by all this time very silent, but all ended, he said, Yesterday Pecksuot bragged of his strength and stature, but I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground.

The Towne he left to the guard of Westons people: Three Salvages more were slaine; upon which rumour they all fled from their houses. The next day they met with a file of Salvages that let fly their Arrowes, shot for shot till Hobamack shewed himselfe, and then they fled. For all this, a Salvage Boy to shew his innocency, came boldly unto us and told us: Had the English Fugitives but finished the three Canowes they were a making, to have taken the ship, they would have done as much to all the English, which was onely the cause they had forborne so long. But now consulting and considering their estates, those that went in the Pinnace to Barty Iles¹ to get passage for England, the rest to New Plimoth, where they were kindly entertained. The Sachem Obtakeest, & Powas, and divers other were guilty, the three fugitives in their fury there slew; but not long after so distracted were those poore scattered people, they left their habitations, living in swamps, where with cold and infinite diseases they endured much mortalitie, suing for peace, and crying the God of England is angry with them. Thus you see where God pleases, as some flourish, others perish.

Now on all hands they prepare their ground, and about the middest of Aprill, in a faire season they begin to plant till the latter end of May; but so God pleased, that in six weekes after the latter setting there scarce fell any raine; so that the stalke was first set, began to eare ere it came to halfe growth,

*The
Salvages
overcomed.*

1623.

*An extreme
drought.*

¹ Monhegan.

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and the last not like to yeeld any thing at all. Our Beanes also seemed so withered, we judged all utterly dead, that now all our hopes were overthrowne, and our joy turned into mourning. And more to our sorrow, we heard of the twice returne of the Paragon, that now the third time was sent us three moneths agoe, but no newes of her: onely the signes of a wracke we saw on the Coast which wee judged her.¹ This caused not only every of us to enter into a private consideration betwixt God and our consciences, but most solemnly to humble our selves before the Lord by fasting and praying, to releevē our dejected spirits by the comforts of his mercy. In the morning when wee assembled all together, the skies were as cleere, and the drought as like to continue as ever; yet our exercise continued eight or nine houres. Before our departure, the skies were all over-cast, and on the next morning distilled such soft, sweet, moderate showers, continuing fourteene daies, mixed with such seasonable weather, as it was hard to say, whether our withered Corne, or drooping affections were most quickned and revived; such was the bounty and mercy of God. Of this the Indians by the meanes of Hobamock tooke notice, who seeing us to use this exercise in the midst of the weeke, said; It was but three daies since Sunday, and desired to know the reason; which when hee understood, he and all of them admired the goodnesse of God towards us shewing the difference betwixt their conjurations and our praiers, and what stormes and dangers they oft receive thereby. To expresse our thankfulness, wee assembled together another day, as before, and either the next morning, or not long after, came in two ships to supply us, and all their Passengers well except one, and he presently recovered.² For us, notwithstanding all

*A wonder-
ful blessing
& signe of
Gods love.*

¹ It was not wrecked. Cf. Ford's Bradford, I, p. 305, *note*.

² A ship, *Anne*, and a pinnace, *Little James*, came to Plymouth in July, 1623, with about 60 colonists. They were called "the adventurers for Mr. Peirce's plantation." Mr. John Peirce was a London merchant with whom the Plymouth settlers were associated in business after June 1, 1621.

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these wants, there was not a sicke person amongst us. The greater ship we returned fraught; the other wee sent to the Southward, to trade under the command of Captaine Altom.¹ So that God be thanked, we desire nothing, but what we will returne Commodities to the value.

Thus all men finde our great God he,
That never wanted nature,
To teach his truth, that onely he
Of everything is Author.

For this yeere from England is gone about fortie saile of ships, only to fish, and as I am informed, have made farre better voyage than ever.

Now some new great observers will have this an Iland, because I have writ it is the Continent; others report, that the people are so bruit, they have no religion, wherein surely they are deceived; for my part, I never heard of any Nation in the world which had not a Religion, deare, bowes, and arrowes. They beleeeve as doe the Virginians, of many divine powers, yet of one above all the rest, as the Southerne Virginians call *Their Religion.* their chiefe God Kewassa, and that wee now inhabit Oke, but both their Kings Werowance. The Masachusets call their great God Kiehtan, and their Kings thereabouts Sachems: The Penobscotes their greatest power Tantum, and their Kings Sagomos. Those where is this Plantation, say Kiehtan made all the other Gods: also one man and one woman, and of them all mankinde, but how they became so dispersed they know not. They say, at first there was no King but Kiehtan that dwelleth farre westerly above the heavens, whither all good men goe when they die, and have plentie of all things. The bad men goe thither also and knocke at the doore, but he bids them goe wander in endlesse want and miserie, for they shall not stay there. They never saw Kiehtan, but they hold it a great charge

¹ Samuel Altham, captain of the *Little James*.

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and dutie, that one age teach another; and to him they make feasts, and cry and sing for plentie and victorie, or any thing is good. They have another Power they call Hobamock, which wee conceive the Devill, and upon him they call to cure their wounds and diseases: when they are curable he perswades them he sent them, because they have displeased him; but if they be mortall, then he saith, Kiehtan sent them, which makes them never to call on him in their sicknesse. They say this Hobamock appeares to them sometimes like a Man, a Deere, or an Eagle, but most commonly like a Snake; not to all, but only to their Powahs to cure diseases, and Undeses, which is one of the chiefe next the King, and so bold in the warres, that they thinke no weapon can kill them: and those are such as conjure in Virginia, and cause the people to doe what they list.

*Their
Govern-
ment.*

For their Government: every Sachem is not a King, but their great Sachems have divers Sachems under their protection, paying them tribute, and dare make no warres without his knowledge; but every Sachem taketh care for the Widowes, Orphans, the aged and maimed, nor will they take any to first wife, but them in birth equall to themselves, although they have many inferior Wives and Concubins that attend on the principall; from whom he never parteth, but any of the rest when they list, they inherit by succession, and every one knowes their owne bounds. To his men, hee giveth them land, also bounded, and what Deere they kill in that circuit, he hath the forepart; but if in the water, onely the skin: But they account none a man, till hee hath done some notable exploit: the men are most imploied in hunting, the women in slavery; the younger obey the elders; their names are variable; they have harlots and honest women: the harlots never marrie, or else are widowes. They use divorcement, and the King commonly punisheth all offenders himselfe: when a maid is married, she cutteth her haire, and keepes her head covered till it be growne againe. Their arts, games, musicke, attire, burials, and such

like, differ very little from the Virginians, onely for their Chronicles they make holes in the ground, as the others set up great stones. (Out of the Relations of Master Edward Winslow.)

Now I know the common question is, For all those miseries, where is the wealth they have got, or the Gold or Silver Mines? To such greedy unworthy minds I say once againe: The Sea is better then the richest Mine knowne, and of all the fishing ships that went well provided, there is no complaint of losse nor misery, but rather an admiration of wealth, profit, and health. As for the land were it never so good, in two yeeres so few of such small experience living without supplies so well, and in health, it was an extraordinary blessing from God. But that with such small meanes they should subsist, and doe so much, to any understanding judgement is a wonder. Notwithstanding, the vaine expectation of present gaine in some, ambition in others, that to be great would have all else slaves, and the carelesnesse in providing supplies, hath caused those defailements in all those Plantations, and how ever some bad conditions will extoll the actions of any Nation but their owne: yet if we may give credit to the Spaniards, Portugals, and French writings, they indured as many miseries, and yet not in twenty yeeres effected so much, nay scarce in fortie.

Thus you may see plainly the yeerely successe from New England by Virginia, which hath beene so costly to this Kingdome, and so deare to me, which either to see perish, or but bleed: Pardon me though it passionate me beyond the bounds of modesty, to have beene sufficiently able to fore-see their miseries, and had neither power nor meanes to prevent it. By that acquaintance I have with them, I call them my children, for they have beene my Wife, my Hawks, Hounds, my Cards, my Dice, and in totall, my best content, as indifferent to my heart, as my left hand to my right. And notwithstanding, all those miracles of disasters have crossed both them and me, yet

*An answer
to Objec-
tions.*

*The ordi-
nary voyage
to goe to
Virginia
or New-
England.*

were there not an Englishman remaining, as God be thanked notwithstanding the massacre there are some thousands; I would yet begin againe with as small meanes as I did at first, not that I have any secret encouragement (I protest) more then lamentable experience; for all their discoveries I have yet heard of, are but Pigs of my owne Sow, nor more strange to me, then to heare one tell me hee hath gone from Billingsgate and discovered Gravesend, Tilbury, Quinborow, Lee, and Margit, which to those did never heare of them, though they dwell in England, might bee made some rare secrets and great Countries unknowne, except some few Relations of Master Dirmer. In England, some are held great travellers that have seene Venice, and Rome, Madrill, Toledo, Sivill, Algere, Prague, or Ragonsa, Constantinople, or Jerusalem, and the Piramides of Egypt; that thinke it nothing to goe to Summer Iles, or Virginia, which is as far as any of them; and I hope in time will prove a more profitable and a more laudable journey: as for the danger, you see our Ladies and Gentlewomen account it nothing now to goe thither; and therefore I hope all good men will better apprehend it, and not suffer them to languish in despaire, whom God so wonderfully and oft hath preserved.

What here I have writ by Relation, if it be not right I humbly intreat your pardons, but I have not spared any diligence to learne the truth of them that have beene actors, or sharers in those voyages; In some particulars they might deceive mee, but in the substance they could not: for few could tell me any thing, except where they fished. But seeing all those have lived there, doe confirme more then I have writ, I doubt not but all those testimonies with these new begun examples of Plantation, will move both Citie and Country, freely to adventure with me more then promises.

The objections against me.

But because some Fortune-tellers say, I am unfortunate; had they spent their time as I have done, they would rather

beleeeve in God then their calculations, and peradventure have given as bad an account of their actions, and therefore I intreat leave to answer those objecters, that thinke it strange, if this be true, I have made no more use of it, rest so long without imploiment, nor have no more reward nor preferment: To which I say;

I thinke it more strange they should tax me, before they have tried as much as I have, both by land and sea, as well in Asia and Affrica, as Europe and America, where my Commanders were actors or spectators, they alwaies so freely rewarded me, I never needed bee importunate, or could I ever learne to beg: What there I got, I have spent;¹ yet in Virginia I staid, till I left five hundred behinde me better provided then ever I was, from which blessed Virgin (ere I returned) sprung the fortunate habitation of Summer Iles. *My answer.*

This Virgins Sister, now called New England, at my humble sute, by our most gracious Prince Charles, hath beene neere as chargeable to me and my friends: for all which, although I never got shilling but it cost mee a pound, yet I would thinke my selfe happy could I see their prosperities.

But if it yet trouble a multitude to proceed upon these certainties, what thinke you I undertooke when nothing was knowne but that there was a vast land? I never had power and meanes to doe any thing, though more hath beene spent in formall delaies then would have done the businesse, but in such a penurious and miserable manner, as if I had gone a begging to build an Universitie: where had men beene as forward to adventure their purses, and performe the conditions they

Considerations.

¹ (*Details of his (Smith's) efforts. Ibid, 266.*)

These sixteen yeares I have spared neither paines nor money according to my abilitie, first to procure his Maiesties Letters pattents, and a Company here to be the means to raise a company to go with me to Virginia, as is said: which beginning here and there cost me neare 5 yeares worke, and more then 500 pounds of my owne estate, besides all the dangers, meseries, and incumbrances I endured gratis:

promised mee, as to crop the fruits of my labours, thousands ere this had beene bettered by these designs. Thus betwixt the spur of desire and the bridle of reason, I am neere ridden to death in a ring of despaire; the reines are in your hands, therefore I intreat you ease me, and those that thinke I am either idle or unfortunate, may see the cause and know: unlesse I did see better dealing, I have had warning enough not to be so forward againe at every motion upon their promises, unlesse I intended nothing but to carie newes; for now they dare adventure a ship, that when I went first would not adventure a groat, so they may be at home againe by Michaelmas, which makes me remember and say with Master Hackluit; Oh incredulitie the wit of fooles, that slovingly doe spit at all things faire, a sluggards Cradle, a Cowards Castle, how easie it is to be an Infidell. But to the matter: By this all men may perceive, the ordinary performance of this voyage in five or six moneths, the plentie of fish is most certainly approved; and it is certaine, from Cannada and New England, within these six yeeres hath come neere twenty thousand Bever skinnes: Now had each of these ships transported but some small quantitie of the most increasing Beasts, Fowles, Fruits, Plants, and Seeds, as I projected; by this time their increase might have beene sufficient for more then one thousand men: But the desire of present gaine (in many) is so violent, and the endeavours of many undertakers so negligent, every one so regarding their private gaine, that it is hard to effect any publike good, and impossible to bring them into a body, rule, or order, unlesse both honesty, as well as authoritie and money, assist experience. But your home-bred ingrossing Projecters will at last finde, there is a great difference betwixt saying and doing, or those that thinks their directions can be as soone and easily performed, as they can conceit them; or that their conceits are the fittest things to bee put in practise, or their countenances maintaine Plantations. But to conclude, the fishing will goe

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forward whether you plant it or no; whereby a Colony may be then transported with no great charge, that in short time might provide such fraughts, to buy on us their dwelling, as I would hope no ship should goe or come emptie from New England.

The charge of this is onely Salt, Nets, Hookes, Lines, Knives, Irish-rugges, course cloth, Beads, Glasse, and such trash, onely for fishing and trade with the Salvages, besides our owne necessarie provisions, whose endeavours would quickly defray all this charge, and the Salvages did intreat me to inhabit where I would. Now all those ships till these last two yeeres, have beene fishing within a square of two or three leagues, and scarce any one yet will goe any further in the Port they fish in, where questionlesse five hundred may have their fraught as well as elsewhere, and be in the market ere others can have the fish in their ships, because New Englands fishing begins in February, in Newfoundland not till the midst of May; the progression hereof tends much to the advancement of Virginia and Summer Iles, whose empty ships may take in their fraughts there, and would be also in time of need a good friend to the Inhabitants of Newfoundland.

The returnes made by the Westernne men, are commonly divided in three parts; one for the owner of the ship; another for the Master and his Company; the third for the victualers, which course being still permitted, will be no hinderance to the Plantation as yet goe there never so many, but a meanes of transporting that yeerely for little or nothing, which otherwise wil cost many hundreds of pounds. If a ship can gaine twenty, thirty, fifty in the hundred; nay three hundred for one hundred in seven or ten moneths, as you see they have done, spending twice so much time in comming and going as in staying there: were I there planted, seeing the variety of the fishings serve the most part of the yeere, and with a little labour we might make all the Salt we need use, as is formerly said, and can

The charge.

*The order
of the
Westernne
men.*

The gaines.

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conceive no reason to distrust of good successe by Gods assistance; besides for the building of ships, no place hath more convenient Harbours, ebbe, nor floud, nor better timber; and no Commoditie in Europe doth more decay then wood.

Master Dee his opinion for the building of ships.

*The effects
of shipping.*

Master Dee recordeth in his Brittish Monarchy, that King Edgar had a Navy of foure thousand saile, with which he yeerely made his progresse about this famous Monarchy of Great Britaine, largely declaring the benefit thereof; whereupon hee projected to our most memorable Queene Elizabeth, the erecting of a fleet of sixty Saile, he called a little Navy Royall: imitating that admired Pericles Prince of Athens, that could never secure that tormented estate, untill he was Lord and Captaine of the Sea. At this none need wonder, for who knowes not her Royall Majestie during her life, by the incredible adventures of her Royall Navy, and valiant Souldiers and Seamen, notwithstanding all treacheries at home, the protecting and defending France and Holland, and reconquering Ireland; yet all the world by Sea and Land both feared or loved, and admired good Queene Elizabeth. Both to maintaine and increase that incomparable honour (God be thanked) to her incomparable Successor, our most Royall Lord and Sovereigne King James, this great Philosopher hath left this to his Majestie and his Kingdomes consideration: that if the tenths of the earth be proper to God, it is also due by Sea. The Kings high waies are common to passe, but not to dig for Mines or any thing: So Englands Coasts are free to passe, but not to fish, but by his Majesties Prerogative.

*The Popes
order for
the East
and West
Indies.*

His Majesty of Spaine permits none to passe the Popes order for the East and West Indies but by his permission, or at their perils; if all that world be so justly theirs, it is no injustice for England to make as much use of her owne shores

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as strangers doe, that pay to their owne Lords the tenth, and not to the owner of those liberties any thing to speake of, whose subjects may neither take nor sell any in their Teritories: which small tribute would maintaine this little Navy Royall, and not cost his Majesty a peny, and yet maintaine peace with all Forrainers, and allow them more courtesie then any Nation in the world affords to England. It were a shame to alleage, that Holland is more worthy to enjoy our fishing as Lords thereof, because they have more skill to handle it then we, as they can our wooll and undressed Cloth, notwithstanding all their warres and troublesome disorders.

To get money to build this Navy, he saith, who would not spare the one hundreth penny of his rents, and the five hundreth penny of his goods; each servant that taketh forty shillings wages, foure pence; and every forrainer of seven yeeres of age foure pence, for seven yeeres; not any of these but they will spend three times so much in pride, wantonnesse, or some superfluitie: And doe any men love the securitie of their estates, that of themselves would not bee humble suters to his Majesty to doe this of free will as a voluntary benevolence, or but the one halfe of this (or some such other course as I have propounded to divers of the Companies) free from any constraint, tax, lottery, or imposition; so it may be as honestly and truly imploied, as it is projected, the poorest Mechanicke in this Kingdome would gaine by it. Then you might build ships of any proportion and numbers you please, five times cheaper then you can doe here, and have good merchandize for their fraught in this unknowne Land, to the advancement of Gods glory, his Church and Gospel, and the strengthning and releefe of a great part of Christendome without hurt to any, to the terror of the Pirats, the amazement of enemies, the assistance of friends, the securing Merchants, and so much increase of Navigation, to make Englands trade and shipping as much as any Nations in the world, besides a

*How to get
money to
build this
little Navy.*

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hundred other benefits, to the generall good of all true subjects, & would cause thousands yet unborne to blesse the time, and all them that first put it in practice.

*Contention
for New-
Englands
goods, not
her good.*

Now lest it should be obscured as it hath beene to privat ends, or so weakely undertaken by our overweening incredulity, that strangers may possesse it whilest we contend for New-Englands goods, but not Englands good; I have presented it as I have said, to the Prince and Nobility, the Gentry and Commonalty, hoping at last it will move the whole land to know it and consider of it; since I can finde them wood and halfe victuall, with the aforesaid advantages: were this Country planted, with what facility they may build and maintaine this little Navy Royall, both with honour, profit and content, and inhabit as good a Country as any in the world within that paralell, which with my life and what I have, I will endeavour to effect, if God please and you permit. But no man will goe from hence to have lesse freedome there then here, nor adventure all they have to prepare the way for them will scarce thanke them for it; and it is too well knowne there have beene so many undertakers of Patents, and such sharing of them, as hath bred no lesse discouragement then wonder, to heare such great promises and so little performance; in the Interim, you see the French and Dutch already frequent it, and God forbid they in Virginia, or any of his Majesties subjects, should not have as free liberty as they. To conclude, were it not for Master Cherley¹ and a few private adventurers with them, what have we there for all these inducements? As for them whom pride or covetousnesse lulleth asleepe in a Cradle of slothfull carelesnesse, would they but consider how the great Monarchies of the earth have beene brought to confusion, or but remember the late lamentable experiences of Constantinople, and how many Cities, Townes and Provinces, in the faire rich Kingdoms

*The neces-
sity of
martiall
power.*

¹ James Sherley, a goldsmith, one of the merchant adventurers who financed the Plymouth colony. He was treasurer of the company.

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of Hungaria, Transilvania, Wallachia & Moldavia, and how many thousands of Princes, Earles, Barons, Knights, Merchants, and others, have in one day lost goods, lives and honours, or sold for slaves like beasts in a market place, their wives, children and servants slaine, or wandring they knew not whither, dying or living in all extremities of extreme miseries and calamities, surely they would not onely doe this, but give all they have to enjoy peace and liberty at home, or but adventure their persons abroad; to prevent the conclusions of a conquering Foe, who commonly assaulteth and best prevaileth where he findeth wealth and plenty, most armed with ignorance and security.

Though the true condition of warre is onely to supresse the proud and defend the innocent, as did that most generous Prince Sigismundus, Prince of those Countries, against them whom under the colour of justice and piety, to maintaine their superfluity of ambitious pride, thought all the world too little to maintaine their vice, and undoe them, or keepe them from ability to doe any thing, that would not admire and adore their honours, fortunes, covetousnesse, falshood, bribery, cruelty, extortion, and ingratitude, which is worse then cowardize or ignorance, and all manner of vildnesse, cleane contrary to all honour, vertue, and noblenesse.

John Smith writ this with his owne hand.

Here follow certaine notes and observations of Captaine Charles Whitbourne concerning New-found land, which although every master trained up in fishing, can make their proportions of necessaries according to their custome, yet it is not much amisse here to insert them, that every one which desires the good of those actions know them also. Besides in his Booke intituled, A discovery of New-found land, and the commodities thereof, you shall finde many excellent good advertisements for a Plantation; and how that most yeeres this Coast hath beene frequented with 250. saile of his Majes-

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ties subjects, which supposing but 60. tunnes a peece, one with another, they amount to 15000. tunnes, and allowing 25. men and boies to every Barke, they will make 5000. persons, whose labours returne yeerely to about 135000. pound sterling, besides the great numbers of Brewers, Bakers, Coupers, Ship-Carpenters, Net-makers, Rope-makers, Hooke-makers, and the most of all other mecanicall trades in England.

The charge of setting forth a ship of 100. tuns with 40. persons, both to make a fishing voyage, and increase the Plantation.

	£.	s.	d.
Inprimis, 10000. weight of Bisket at 15.s.			
a 100. weight.	82.	10.	
26 Tun of Beere and Sider at 53.s. 4.d. a Tun.	69.	7.	
2 Hogsheads of English Beefe.	10.		
2 Hogheads of Irish Beefe.	5.		
10 Fat Hogs salted with Salt and Caske.	10.	10.	
30 Bushels of Pease.	6.		
2 Ferkins of Butter.	3.		
200 Waight of Cheese.	2.	10.	
1 Bushell of Mustard-seed.		6.	
1 Hogshead of Vinegar.	1.	5.	
Wood to dresse meat withall.	1.		
1 Great Copper Kettle.	2.		
2 Small Kettles.	2.		
2 Frying-pans.		3.	4.
Platters, Ladles and Cans.	1.		
a paire of Bellowes for the Cooke.		2.	6.
Taps, Boriers and Funnels.		2.	
Locks for the Bread roomes.		2.	6.
100 weight of Candles.	2.	10.	
130 quarters of Salt at 2.s. the Bushell.	10.	4.	
Mats & dinnage to lie under it.	2.	10.	

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Salt Shovels.	10.
Particulars for the 40. persons to keepe 8. fishing boats at Sea, with 3. men in every boat, imployes 24. and 500. foot of Elme boards of an inch thicke, 8.s. each one.	2.
2000 Nails for the 8. Boats, at 13.s. 4.d. a 1000.	1. 6. 8.
4000 Nails at 6.s. 8.d. 1000.	1. 6. 8.
2000 Nails at 5.d. 100.	8.
500 weight of pitch at 8.s. 100.	2.
2000 of good orlop nails.	2. 5.
More for other small necessaries.	3.
A barrell of Tar.	10.
200 weight of black Ocome. ^r	1.
Thrums for pitch Maps.	1. 6.
Bolls, Buckets and Pumps.	1.
2 brazen Crocks.	2.
Canvas to make Boat sailes & small ropes, at 25.s. for each saile.	12. 10.
10 rode Ropes which containe 600. weight at 30.s. the 100.	10.
12 dozen of fishing lines.	6.
24 dozen of fishing hookes.	2.
for Squid line.	3.
For Pots and liver maunds.	18.
Iron works for the boats ruthers.	2.
10 Kipnet Irons.	10.
Twine to make kipnets and gagging hooks.	6.
10 good Nets at 26.s. a net.	13.
2 Saynes, a great and a lesse.	12.
200 weight of Sow-lead.	1.
2 couple of ropes for the Saynes.	1.
Dry-fats to keepe them in.	6.

^r Oakum.

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Twine for store.	5.		
Flaskets and bread Baskets.	15.		
For haire cloth.	10.		
3. Tuns of Vinegar caske for water.	1.	6.	8.
1 douzen of Deale Bourds.		10.	
2 Barrels of Oatmeale.	1.	6.	
100 weight of Spikes.	2.	5.	
2 good Axes, 4. hand Hatchets, 4. Drawers,			
2. drawing Irons.		16.	
3 yards of wollen cloth for cuffs.		10.	
8 yards of good Canvasse.		10.	
A Grind-stone or two.		6.	
2000 of poore John ¹ to spend in going.	6.	10.	
1 Hogshead of Aquavitæ.	4.		
4 arme Sawes, 4. Handsawes, 4. thwart			
Sawes, 3. Augers, 2. Crowes of Iron, 3.			
Sledges, 4. shod Shovels, 2. Picaxes, 4.			
Matocks, and 4. Hammers.	5.		
The totall summe is	420.	11.	0.

All these provisions the Master or Purser is to be accountable what is spent and what is left, with those which shall continue there to plant, and of the 40. thus provided for the voyage, ten may well be spared to leave behind them, with 500. weight of Bisket, 5. hogsheads of Sider or beere, halfe a hogshead of Beefe, 4. sides of dry Bakon, 4. bushell of Pease, halfe a ferkin of Butter, halfe 100. weight of Cheese, a pecke of Mustard-seed, a barrell of Vinegar, 12. pound of Candles, 2. pecks of Oatmeale, halfe a hogshead of Aquavitæ, 2. copper Kettles, 1. brasse Crock, 1. Frying-pan, a Grind-stone, and all the Hatchets, Woodhooks, Sawes, Augers, &c. and all other iron tooles, with the 8. Boats and their implements, and spare salt, and what else they use not in a readinesse from yeere

¹ Salted or dried hake.

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to yeere, and in the meane time served them to helpe to build their houses, cleanse land, and further their fishing whilst the ships are wanting.

By this estimation and calculation these 8. Boats with 22. men in a Summer doe usually kill 25000. fish for every Boat, which may amount to 200000. allowing 120. fishes to the 100. sometimes they have taken above 35000. for a Boat, so that they load not onely their owne ship, but provide great quantities for Sacks,¹ or other spare ships which come thither onely to buy the overplus: if such ships come not, they give over taking any more, when sometimes there hath beene great abundance, because there is no fit houses to lay them in till another yeere, now most of those Sacks goeth empty thither, which might as well transport mens provision and cattle at an easie rate as nothing, either to New-England or New-found land, but either to transport them for nothing or pay any great matter for their liberty to fish, will hardly effect so much as freedome as yet; nor can this be put in practice as before I said, till there be a power there well planted and setled to entertaine and defend them, assist and releve them as occasion shall require, otherwise those small divisions will effect little, but such miserable conclusions as both the French and we too long have tried to our costs. Now commonly 200000. fish will load a ship of 100. tunnes in New-found land, but halfe so many will neere doe it in New-England, which carried to Toloune or Merselus,² where the custome is small, and the Kintall lesse then 90. English pounds weight, and the prise when least, 12. shillings the Kintall, which at that rate amounts to 1320. l. starling; and the ship may either there be discharged or employed as hath beene said to refraught for England, so that the next yeere she may be ready to goe her fishing voyage againe, at a farre cheaper rate then before.

To this adde but 12. tuns of traine oile, which delivered in

¹ Victualling-ships trading with fishing-vessels.

² Toulon or Marseilles.

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New-found land, is 10. l. the tun, makes 120. l. Then it is hard if there be not 10000. of Cor-fish, which also sold there at 5. l. the 1000. makes 50. l. which brought to England, in some places yeelds neere halfe so much more; but if at Merselus it be sold for 16. s. the Kentall, as commonly it is, and much dearer, it amounts to 1760. l. And if the Boats follow the fishing till the 15. of October, they may take 80000. more, which with their traine in New-found land at 4. l. the 1000. will amount to 320. l. which added to 1320. l. with 120. l. for Oile, and 10000. of Cor-fish 50. l. and the overplus at Merselus, which will be 440. l. make the totall 2250. l. which divided in three parts according to their custome, the Victualer hath for the former particulars, (amounting to 420. l.) 751. l. so all the charge defraied, hee gaines 331. l. 11. s. then for the fraught of the ship there is 751. l. and so much for the Master and his company, which comparing with the voiages hath beene made to New-England, you may easily finde which is the better though both bee good. But now experience hath taught them at New-Plimoth, that in Aprill there is a fish much like a Herring that comes up to the small Brookes to spawne, and where the water is not knee deepe, they will presse up through your hands, yea though you beat at them with Cudgels, and in such abundance as is incredible, which they take with that facility they manure their land with them when they have occasion; after those the Cod also presseth in such plenty, even into the very Harbours, they have caught some in their armes, and hooke them so fast, three men oft loadeth a Boat of two tuns in two houres, where before they used most to fish in deepe water.

*The facility
of the fish-
ing lately
observed.*

The present estate of New-Plimoth. 1624.

At New-Plimoth there is about 180 persons, some cattell and goats, but many swine and poultry, 32 dwelling houses,

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whereof 7 were burnt the last winter, and the value of five hundred pounds in other goods; the Towne is impailed about halfe a mile compasse. In the towne upon a high Mount they have a Fort well built with wood, lome, and stone, where is planted their Ordnance: Also a faire Watch-tower, partly framed for the Sentinell, the place it seemes is healthfull, for in these last three yeeres, notwithstanding their great want of most necessaries, there hath not one died of the first planters, they have made a saltworke, and with that salt preserve the fish they take, and this yeare hath fraughted a ship of 180. tunnes. The Governour is one Mr. William Bradford, their Captaine Miles Standish, a bred Souldier in Holland; the chiefe men for their assistance is Master Isaak Alderton,¹ and divers others as occasion serveth; their Preachers are Master William Bruster and Master John Layford.

*The present
estate of the
plantation
at New-
Plimoth.*

The most of them live together as one family or houshold, yet every man followeth his trade and profession both by sea and land, and all for a generall stocke, out of which they have all their maintenance, untill there be a dividit betwixt the Planters and the Adventurers. Those Planters are not servants to the Adventurers here, but have onely councells of directions from them, but no injunctions or command, and all the masters of families are partners in land or whatsoever, setting their labours against the stocke, till certaine yeeres be expired for the division: they have young men and boies for their Appren-tises and servants, and some of them speciall families, as Ship-carpenters, Salt-makers, Fish-masters, yet as servants upon great wages. The Adventurers which raise the stocke to begin and supply this Plantation were about 70. some Gentlemen, some Merchants, some handy-crafts men, some adventuring great summes, some small, as their estates and affection served. The generall stocke already imploied is about 7000. l. by reason of which charge and many crosses, many of them would

*Their order
of govern-
ment.*

¹ Isaac Allerton.

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adventure no more, but others that knowes so great a designe cannot bee effected without both charge, losse and crosses, are resolved to goe forward with it to their powers; which deserve no small commendations and encouragement. These dwell most about London, they are not a corporation, but knit together by a voluntary combination in a society without constraint or penalty, aiming to doe good & to plant Religion; they have a President & Treasurer, every yeere newly chosen by the most voices, who ordereth the affaires of their Courts and meetings, and with the assent of the most of them, undertaketh all ordinary businesses, but in more weighty affaires, the assent of the whole Company is required. There hath beene a fishing this yeere upon the Coast about 50. English ships: and by Cape Anne, there is a Plantation a beginning by the Dorchester men¹ which they hold of those of New-Plimoth, who also by them have set up a fishing worke; some talke there is some other pretended Plantations, all whose good proceedings the eternal God protect and preserve. And these have beene the true proceedings and accidents in those Plantations.

Now to make a particular relation of all the acts and orders in the Courts belonging unto them, of the anihilating old Patents and procuring new; with the charge, paines and arguments, the reasons of such changes, all the treaties, consultations, orations, and dissentions about the sharing and dividing those large territories, confirming of Counsailers, electing

¹ The beginning of John White's Dorchester Company. In their first ship (1624) Mr. Edward Winslow brought to Plymouth a grant of a part of Cape Ann which he had secured for the planters of Plymouth from Lord Sheffield. To the latter nobleman Cape Ann had fallen by lot in the division of New England among the members of the Council for New England, June 29, 1623. This first voyage was commercially a failure, according to Bradford, chiefly because the Captain, one Baker, was "a very drunken beast, and did nothing (in a maner) but drink, and gusle, and consume away the time and his victails." In this ship also came to Plymouth Rev. John Lyford (whom Smith calls "Layford"), an unworthy clergyman who had the support of some of the merchant adventurers and caused much trouble in the colony.

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all sorts of Officers, directions, Letters of advice, and their answers, disputations about the Magazines and Impositions, suters for Patents, positions for Freedomes, and confirmations with complaints of injuries here, and also the mutinies, examinations, arraignements, executions, and the cause of the so oft revolt of the Salvages at large, as many would have had, and it may be some doe expect it would make more quarrels then any of them would willingly answer, & such a volume as would tire any wise man but to read the contents; for my owne part I rather feare the impartiall Reader wil thinke this rather more tedious then necessary: but he that would be a practitioner in those affaires, I hope will allow them not only needfull but expedient: but how ever, if you please to beare with those errors I have committed, if God please I live, my care and paines shall endeavour to be thankfull: if I die, accept my good will: If any desire to be further satisfied, what defect is found in this, they shall finde supplied in me, that thus freely have throwne my selfe with my mite into the Treasury of my Countries good, not doubting but God will stirre up some noble spirits to consider and examine if worthy Columbus could give the Spaniards any such certainties for his designe, when Queene Isabel of Spaine set him forth with 15. saile, and though I promise no Mines of gold, yet the warlike Hollanders let us imitate but not hate, whose wealth and strength are good testimonies of their treasury gotten by fishing; and New-England hath yeelded already by generall computation one hundred thousand pounds at the least. Therefore honourable and worthy Country men, let not the meannesse of the word fish distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the Mines of Guiana or Potassie,¹ with lesse hazard and charge, and more certainty and facility.

J. S.

FINIS.

¹ Potosi.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

FROM THE TRUE TRAVELS, ADVENTURES,
AND OBSERVATIONS OF CAPTAIN JOHN
SMITH, PUBLISHED IN LONDON IN 1630.

Chapter XXIII.

The proceedings and present estate of New England, since 1624. to this present 1629.

WHEN I went first to the North part of Virginia, where the Westerly Colony had been planted, it had dissolved it selfe within a yeare,¹ and there was not one Christian in all the land. I was set forth at the sole charge of foure Merchants of London; the Country being then reputed by your westerlings, a most rockie, barren, desolate desart; but the good returne I brought from thence, with the maps and relations I made of the Country, which I made so manifest, some of them did beleeeve me, and they were well embraced, both by the Londoners, and Westerlings, for whom I had promised to undertake it, thinking to have joined them all together, but that might well have beene a worke for Hercules. Betwixt them long there was much contention; the Londoners indeed went bravely forward; but in three or foure yeares, I and my friends consumed many hundred pounds amongst the Plimothians, who only fed me with delayes, promises, and excuses, but no performance of any thing to any purpose. In the interim, many particular ships went thither, and finding my relations true, and that I had not taken that I brought home from the French men, as has beene reported: yet further for my paines to discredit me and my calling it New England, they obscured it, and shadowed it, with the title of Canada, till at my humble suit, it pleased our most Royall King Charles, whom God long

Considerations about the losse of time.

¹ The Popham Colony.

JOHN SMITH'S HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND

keepe, blesse, and preserve, then Prince of Wales, to confirme it with my map and booke, by the title of New England; the gaine thence returning did make the fame thereof so increase, that thirty, forty, or fifty saile went yearly only to trade and fish; but nothing would bee done for a plantation, till about some hundred of your Brownists of England, Amsterdam, and Leyden, went to New Plimouth, whose humorous ignorances caused them for more than a yeare to endure a wonderfull deale of misery, with an infinite patience; saying my books and maps were much better cheape to teach them, than my selfe; many other have used the like good husbandry, that have payed soundly in trying their selfe-willed conclusions; but those in time doing well, divers others have in small handfulls undertaken to goe there, to be severall Lords and Kings of themselves, but most vanished to nothing; notwithstanding the fishing ships made such good returnes, at last it was ingrossed by twenty Pattenties, that divided my map into twenty parts, and cast lots for their shares; but money not comming in as they expected, procured a Proclamation, none should goe thither without their licences to fish; but for every thirty tunnes of shipping, to pay them five pounds; besides, upon great penalties, neither to trade with the natives, cut downe wood for their stages, without giving satisfaction, though all the Country is nothing but wood, and none to make use of it, with many such other pretences, for to make this Country plant it selfe, by its owne wealth: hereupon most men grew so discontented, that few or none would goe; so that the Pattenties, who never one of them had beene there, seeing those projects would not prevaile, have since not hindred any to goe that would, that within these few last yeares, more have gone thither than ever.

*The effect
of niggard-
linesse.*

Now this yeare 1629. a great company of people of good ranke, zeale, meanes, and quality, have made a great stocke, and with six good ships in the moneths of Aprill and May,

*A new
plantation.*

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

they set saile from Thames, for the Bay of the Massachusetts, otherwise called Charles River; viz. the George Bonaventure, of twenty peeces of Ordnance, the Talbot nineteene, the Lions-whelpe eight, the Mayflower fourteene, the Foure Sisters, foureteene, the Pilgrim foure, with three hundred and fifty, men, women, and children; also an hundred and fifteene head of Cattell, as horse, mares, and neat beast; one and forty goats, some Conies, with all provision for houshold, and apparell; six peeces of great Ordnance for a Fort, with Muskets, Pikes, Corselets, Drums, Colours, with all provisions necessary for a plantation, for the good of man; other particulars I understand of no more, than is writ in the generall historie of those Countries.

But you are to understand, that the noble Lord chiefe Justice Popham, Judge Doderege; the Right Honourable Earles of Pembroke, Southampton, Salesbury, and the rest, as I take it, they did all thinke, as I and them went with me did; That had those two Countries beene planted, as it was intended, that no other nation should come plant betwixt us. If ever the King of Spaine and we should fall foule, those Countries being so capable of all materialls for shipping, by this might have beene owners of a good Fleet of ships, and to have releevd a whole Navy from England upon occasion; yea, and to have furnished England with the most Easterly commodities; and now since, seeing how conveniently the Summer Iles fell to our shares, so neere the West Indies, wee might with much more facility than the Dutchmen have invaded the West Indies, that doth now put in practice, what so long hath beene advised on, by many an honest English States-man.

Those Countries Captaine Smith oft times used to call his children that never had mother; & well he might, for few fathers ever payed dearer for so little content; and for those that would truly understand, how many strange accidents hath befallen them and him; how oft up, how oft downe, some-

*Notes of
inconven-
iencie.*

times neere desperate, and ere long flourishing, cannot but conceive Gods infinite mercies and favours towards them. Had his designes beene to have perswaded men to a mine of gold, though few doth conceive either the charge or paines in refining it, nor the power nor care to defend it; or some new Invention to passe to the South Sea; or some strange plot to invade some strange Monastery; or some portable Countrie; or some chargeable Fleet to take some rich Carocks¹ in the East Indies; or Letters of Mart to rob some poore Merchants; what multitudes of both people and mony, would contend to be first employed; but in those noble endeavours (now) how few of quality, unlesse it be to beg some Monopolie; and those seldom seeke the common good, but the commons goods: as you may reade at large in his generall history, page 217, 218, 219. his generall observations and reasons for this plantation;² For yet those Countries are not so forward but they may become as miserable as ever, if better courses be not taken than is; as this Smith will plainly demonstrate to his Majesty; or any other noble person of ability, liable generously to undertake it; how within a short time to make Virginia able to resist any enemy, that as yet lieth open to all; and yeeld the King more custome within these few yeares, in certaine staple commodities, than ever it did in Tobacco; which now not being worth bringing home, the custome will bee as uncertaine to the King, as dangerous to the plantations.

¹ Caracks, or carracks, large armed merchantships.

² This reference is to the argument in the author's account of his first voyage to New England in 1614, *v. supra*, pp. 679-684.

XII.

ADVERTISEMENTS FOR UNEXPERIENCED PLANTERS, 1631; CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S LAST PUBLICATION CONCERNING NEW ENGLAND.



THE last work of John Smith was the "Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England, or anywhere." It was written in October, 1630, and bears the date 1631 on its title-page.

It was written in the hope of assisting the fortunes of the new colony of Massachusetts Bay, altho the opening paragraphs show that Smith did not believe, or did not wish to believe, that he was helping Puritans. Of all Captain Smith's writings this one is most tinctured with the spirit of his robust personality. He gives in it an ironical review of the criticisms that had been passed upon his career in Virginia. He belabors lustily and with equal zest the Brownist sectaries and the merchants and gentlemen who scoffed at his advice about America. He buries his enemies or opponents under sententious epigrams of true Elizabethan coinage.

On the 21st of June, 1631, Captain Smith died. He was buried in St. Sepulchre's Church, London.

Advertisements

For the unexperienced Planters
of New-England, or any where

or

The Path-way to experience to erect a
Plantation.

With the yearely proceedings of this Country in
Fishing and Planting, since the yeare 1614. to
the yeare 1630. and their present estate.

Also how to prevent the greatest inconveniences,
by their proceedings in Virginia, and other
Plantations, by approved examples.

With the Countries Armes, a description of the
Coast, Harbours, Habitations, Land-markes,
Latitude and Longitude: with the Map,
allowed by our Royal King Charles.

By Captaine John Smith, sometimes Governour of
Virginia, and Admirall of New England.

London,

Printed by John Haviland, and are to be sold by
Robert Milbovrne, at the Grey-hound in Pauls Church-yard.

1631.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

TO THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
GEORGE LORD ARCH-BISHOP OF CANTER-
BVRIE HIS GRACE, PRIMATE AND METRA-
POLITAN OF ALL ENGLAND: AND THE RIGHT
REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, SAMVEL LORD
ARCH-BISHOP OF YORKE HIS GRACE, PRI-
MATE AND METRAPOLITAN OF ENGLAND.

MY most Gracious Good Lords, I desire to leave testimony to the world, how highly I honour as well the Miter as the Lance: therefore where my last Booke presented three most honourable Earles with a subject of Warre¹ and received from them favorable acceptance: the worke I now prosecute, concerning the Plantation of New England, for the increase of Gods Church, converting Salvages, and enlarging the Kings Dominions, prostrates it selfe humbly to your Graces; who as you are in the name of Prelacy to this Kingdome, so you are to mee in goodnesse, both Fathers and Protectors unexpectedly. God long preserve your Gracious lives, and continue favour

Vnto both your Graces most devoted servant,

JOHN SMITH.

¹ Smith's "True Travels, Adventures and Observations," published in 1630 and dedicated to the Earls of Pembroke, Lindsey, and Dover.

ADVERTISEMENTS FOR UNEXP. PLANTERS

To the Reader.

Honest Reader.

Apelles by the proportion of a foot, could make the whole proportion of a man: were hee now living, he might goe to schoole, for now are thousands can by opinion proportion Kingdomes, Cities, and Lordships, that never durst adventure to see them. Malignancy, I expect from those, have lived 10. or 12. yeares in those actions, and returne as wise as they went, claiming time and experience for their tutor, that can neither shift Sun nor Moone, nor say their Compasse, yet will tell you of more than all the world, betwixt the Exchange, Pauls and Westminster: so it be newes, it matters not what, that will passe currant when truth must be stayed with an army of conceits that can make or marre anything, and tell as well what all England is by seeing but Milford haven, as what Apelles was by the picture of his great toe.

Now because examples give a quicker impression than arguments, I have writ this discourse to satisfie understanding, wisdom, and honesty; and not such as can doe nothing but finde fault with what they neither know nor can amend.

So I rest

Your friend

JOHN SMITH.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

The Sea Marke.

Aloofe, aloofe; and come no neare,
the dangers doe appeare;
Which if my ruine had not beene
you had not seene:
I onely lie upon this shelfe
to be a marke to all
which on the same might fall,
That none may perish but my selfe.

If in or outward you be bound,
doe not forget to sound;
Neglect of that was cause of this
to steare amisse.
The Seas were calme, the wind was faire
that made me so secure,
that now I must indure
All weathers be they foule or faire.

The Winters cold, the Summers heat
alternatively beat
Upon my bruised sides, that rue
because too true
That no releefe can ever come.
But why should I despaire
being promised so faire
That there shall be a day of Dome.

ADVERTISEMENTS: OR, THE PATH-WAY TO
EXPERIENCE TO ERECT A PLANTATION.

Chapter I.

What people they are that beginne this plantation : the bane of Virginia : strange misprisions of wise men.

THE Warres in Europe, Asia, and Affrica, taught me how to subdue the wilde Salvages in Virginia and New-England, in America; which now after many a stormy blast of ignorant contradictors, projectors, and undertakers, both they and I have beene so tossed and tortured into so many extremities, as despaire was the next wee both expected, till it pleased God now at last to stirre up some good mindes, that I hope will produce glory to God, honour to his Majesty, and profit to his Kingdomes: although all our Plantations have beene so foyled and abused, their best good willers have beene for the most part discouraged, and their good intents disgraced, as the generall History of them will at large truly relate you.

Pardon me if I offend in loving that I have cherished truly, by the losse of my prime fortunes, meanes and youth: If it overglad me to see Industry her selfe adventure now to make use of my aged endeavours, not by such (I hope) as rumour doth report, a many of discontented Brownists, Anabaptists, Papists, Puritans, Separatists, and such factious Humorists: for no such they will suffer among them, if knowne, as many of the chiefe of them have assured mee; and the much conferences I have had with many of them, doth confidently perswade me to write thus much in their behalfe.

*No Brown-
ist nor
Separatist
admitted.*

I meane not the Brownists of Leyden and Amsterdam at New-Plimoth, who although by accident, ignorance, and wilfulnesse, have endured, with a wonderfull patience, many losses

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

*What they
are that
beginne this
Plantation.*

and extremities: yet they subsist and prosper so well, not any of them will abandon the Country, but to the utmost of their powers increase their numbers. But of those which are gone within this eightene moneths for Cape Anne, and the Bay of the Massachusets. Those which are their chiefe Vndertakers are Gentlemen of good estate, some of 500, some a thousand pound land a yeere, all which they say they will sell for the advancing this harmlesse and pious worke: men of good credit and well beloved in their Country, not such as flye for debt, or any scandall at home; and are good Catholike Protestants according to the reformed Church of England, if not, it is well they are gone. The rest of them men of good meanes, or Arts, Occupations, and Qualities, much more fit for such a businesse, and better furnished of all necessities if they arrive well, than was ever any Plantation went out of England.

I will not say but some of them may be more precise than needs, nor that they all be so good as they should be; for Christ had but twelve apostles, and one was a traitor: and if there be no dissemblers among them, it is more than a wonder; therefore doe not condemne all for some. But however they have as good authority from his Majesty as they could desire: if they doe ill, the losse is but their owne; if well, a great glory and exceeding good to this Kingdome, to make good at last what all our former conclusions have disgraced.

*The bane of
Virginia.*

Now they take not that course the Virginia company did for the Planters there, their purses and lives were subject to some few here in London who were never there, that consumed all in Arguments, Projects, and their owne conceits: every yeare trying new conclusions, altering everything yearely as they altered opinions, till they had consumed more than two hundred thousand pounds, and neere eight thousand mens lives.

It is true, in the yeere of our Lord 1622. they were, the Company in England say 7. or 8. thousand: the Counsell in Virginia say but 2200. or thereabouts, English indifferently

ADVERTISEMENTS FOR UNEXP. PLANTERS

well furnished with most necessaries, and many of them grew to that height of bravery, living in that plenty and excesse, that went thither not worth anything, made the Company here thinke all the world was Oatmeale there; and all this proceeded by surviving those that died: nor were they ignorant to use as curious tricks there as here, and out of the juice of Tabacco, which at first they sold at such good rates, they regarded nothing but Tabacco; a commodity then so vendable, it provided them all things. And the loving Salvages their kinde friends, they trained so well up to shoot in a Peece, to hunt and kill them fowle, they became more expert than our owne Country-men; whose labours were more profitable to their Masters in planting Tabacco and other businesse.

This superfluity caused my poore beginnings scorned, or to be spoken of but with much derision, that never sent Ship from thence fraught, but onely some small quantities of Wain-scot, Clap-board, Pitch, Tar, Rosin, Sope-ashes, Glasse, Cedar, Cypressse, Blacke Walnut, Knees for Ships, Ash for Pikes, Iron Ore none better, some Silver Ore but so poore it was not regarded; better there may be, for I was no Mineralist; some Sturgion, but it was too tart of Vinegar (which was of my owne store, for little came from them which was good); and Wine of the Countries wilde Grapes, but it was too sowre; yet better than they sent us any, in two or three yeares but one Hogshead of Claret. Onely spending my time to revenge my imprisonment upon the harmlesse innocent Salvages, who by my cruelty I forced to feed me with their contribution; and to send any offended my idle humour to James towne to punish at mine owne discretion; or keepe their Kings and subjects in chaines, and make them worke. Things cleane contrary to my Commission; whilst I and my company tooke our needlesse pleasures in discovering the Countries about us, building of Forts, and such unnecessary fooleries, where an Egge-shell (as they writ) had beene sufficient against such enemies; neglect-

*The differ-
ences be-
twixt my
beginning in
Virginia,
and the
proceedings
of my
successors.*

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

ing to answer the Merchants expectations with profit, feeding the Company onely with Letters and tastes of such commodities as we writ the Company would afford in time by industry, such as Silke, Wines, Oyles of Olives, Rape, and Linsed, Rasons, Prunes, Flax, Hempe, and Iron. As for Tobacco, wee never then dreamt of it.

Now because I sent not their ships full fraught home with those commodities; they kindly writ to me, if we failed the next returne, they would leave us there as banished men, as if houses and all those commodities did grow naturally, only for us to take at our pleasure; with such tedious Letters, directions, and instructions, and most contrary to that was fitting, we did admire how it was possible such wise men could so torment themselves and us with such strange absurdities and impossibilities: making Religion their colour, when all their aime was nothing but present profit, as most plainly appeared, by sending us so many Refiners, Gold-smiths, Iewellers, Lapidaries, Stone-cutters, Tobacco-pipe-makers, Imbroderers, Perfumers, Silkemen, with all their appurtenances and materialls, and all those had great summes out of the common stocke; and so many spies and super-intendents over us, as if they supposed we would turne Rebels, all striving to suppress and advance they knew not what.

At last got a Commission in their owne names, promising the King custome within seven yeares, where we were free for one and twenty; appointing the Lord De-la-ware for Governour, with as many great and stately officers, and offices under him, as doth belong to a great Kingdome, with good summes for their extraordinary expences; also privileges for Cities, Charters for Corporations, Universities, Free-scholes, and Glebe-land; putting all those in practice before there was either people, students, or schollers to build or use them, or provision or victuall to feed them were then there: and to amend this, most of the Tradesmen in London that would adventure but twelve pounds

*A strange
mistake in
wise men.*

ADVERTISEMENTS FOR UNEXP. PLANTERS

ten shillings, had the furnishing the Company of all such things as belonged to his trade, such jugling there was betwixt them, and such intruding Committies their associats, that all the trash they could get in London was sent us to Virginia, they being well payed for that was good.

Much they blamed us for not converting the Salvages, when those they sent us were little better, if not worse; nor did they all convert any of those we sent them to England for that purpose. So doating of Mines of gold, and the South Sea; that all the world could not have devised better courses to bring us to ruine than they did themselves, with many more such like strange conceits.

By this you may avoid the like inconveniences, and take heed by those examples, you have not too many irons in the fire at once; neither such change of Governours, nor such a multitude of Officers; neither more Masters, Gentlemen, Gentlewomen and children, than you have men to worke, which idle charge you will finde very troublesome, and the effects dangerous: and one hundred good labourers better than a thousand such Gallants as were sent me, that would doe nothing but complaine, curse, and despaire, when they saw our miseries and all things so clean contrary to the report in England; yet must I provide as well for them as for my selfe.

Chapter II.

Needlesse custome, effect of flattery, cause of misery, factions, carelesse government, the dissolving the Company and Patent.

This the Mariners and Saylers did ever all they could to conceale; who had alwayes good fare, and good pay for the most part, and part out of our owne purses: never caring how long they stayed upon their voyage, daily feasting before our faces; when wee lived upon a little corne and water, and not

*The effect
of flattery,
the cause
of misery.*

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

halfe enough of that, the most of which we had from amongst the Salvages. Now although there be Deere in the woods, Fish in the rivers, and Fowles in abundance in their seasons: yet the woods are so wide, the rivers so broad, and the beasts so wild, and wee so unskilfull to catch them, wee little troubled them nor they us.

For all this, our letters that still signified unto them the plaine truth, would not be beleaved, because they required such things as was most necessary: but their opinion was otherwayes, for they desired but to packe over so many as they could, saying necessity would make them get victuals for themselves, as for good labourers they were more usefull here in England.

But they found it otherwayes; the charge was all one to send a workman as a roarer; whose clamors to appease, wee had much adoe to get fish and corne to maintaine them from one supply till another came with more loyterers without victuals still to make us worse and worse, for the most of them would rather starve than worke: yet had it not beene for some few that were Gentlemen, both by birth, industry, and discretion, we could not possibly have subsisted.

*Take heed
of factions
bred in
England.*

Many did urge I might have forced them to it, having authority that extended so farre as death: but I say, having neither meat, drinke, lodging, pay, nor hope of anything or preferment; and seeing the Merchants onely did what they listed with all they wrought for, I knowe not what punishment could be greater than that they indured; which miseries caused us alwaies to be in factions: the most part striving by any meanes to abandon the Country, and I with my party to prevent them and cause them stay. But indeed the cause of our factions was bred here in England, and grew to that maturity among themselves that spoyled all, as all the Kingdome and other Nations can too well testifie.

Yet in the yeare 1622. there were about seven or eight

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thousand English, as hath beene said, so well trained, secure and well furnished, as they reported and conceited. These simple Salvages, their bosome friends, I so much oppressed, had laid their plot how to cut all their throats in a morning; and upon the 22. of March [1622], so innocently attempted it, they slew three hundred forty seven, set their houses on fire, slew their cattell, and brought them to that distraction and confusion within lesse than a yeare, there were not many more than two thousand remaining.

*The
Massacre in
Virginia.*

The which losse to reparaire the company did what they could, till they had consumed all their stocke as is said: then they broke, not making any account, nor giving satisfaction to the Lords, Planters, Adventurers, nor any; whose noble intents had referred the managing of this intricate businesse to a few that lost not by it. So that his Majesty recalled their Commission:¹ and by more just cause then they perswaded King James to call in ours,² which were the first beginners, without our knowledge or consent, disposing of us and all our indevours at their pleasures.

*How the
company
dissolved.*

Chapter III.

A great comfort to new England, it is no Iland: a strange plague.

Notwithstanding since they have beene left in a manner, as it were, to themselves, they have increased their numbers to foure or five thousand, and neere as many catell, with plenty of Goats: abundance of Swine Poultry and Corne, that as they report, they have sufficient and to spare, to entertaine three or foure hundred people, which is much better than to have many people more than provision.

*The abundance of
victuals
now in
Virginia.*

Now having glutted the world with their too much overabounding Tabacco: Reason, or necessity, or both, will cause them, I hope, learne in time better to fortifie themselves, and

¹ In June, 1624. ² In 1609.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

make better use of the trials of their grosse commodities that I have propounded, and at the first sent over: and were it not a lamentable dishonour so goodly a Countrey after so much cost, losse, and trouble, should now in this estate not bee regarded and supplied.

*A great
comfort for
New
England by
Virginia.*

And to those of New-England may it not be a great comfort to have so neare a neighbour of their owne Nation, that may furnish them with their spare cattell, swine, poultry, and other roots and fruits, much better than from England. But I feare the seed of envy, and the rust of covetousnesse doth grow too fast, for some would have all men advance Virginia to the ruine of New-England; and others the losse of Virginia to sustaine New England, which God of his mercy forbid: for at first it was intended by that most memorable Judge Sir John Popham, then Lord chiefe Justice of England, and the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, with divers others, that two Colonies should be planted, as now they be, for the better strengthening each other against all occurrences; the which to performe, shall ever be my hearty prayers to Almighty God, to increase and continue that mutuall love betwixt them for ever.

*The
differences
betwixt the
beginning of
Virginia,
and them of
Salem.*

By this you may perceive somewhat, what unexpected inconveniences are incident to a plantation, especially in such a multitude of voluntary contributors, superfluity of officers, and unexperienced Commissioners. But it is not so, as yet, with those for New England; for they will neither beleieve nor use such officers, in that they are overseers of their owne estates, and so well bred in labour and good husbandry as any in England: where as few as I say was sent me to Virginia, but those were naught here and worse there.

*A necessary
considera-
tion.*

“Now when these shall have laid the foundations, and provided meanes beforehand; they may entertain all the poore artificers and laborers in England, and their families which are burthensome to their Parishes and Countries where they live

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upon almes and benevolence for want of worke: which if they would but pay for their transportation, they would never be troubled with them more. For there is vast¹ land enough for all the people in England, Scotland, and Ireland: and it seemes God hath provided this country for our Nation, destroying the natives by the plague, it not touching one Englishman, though many traded and were conversant amongst them; for they had three plagues in three yeares successively neere two hundred miles along the Sea coast, that in some places there scarce remained five of a hundred, and as they report thus it began”:

*New
England is
no Island but
the maine
continent.*

A fishing ship being cast away upon the coast, two of the men escaped on shore; one of them died, the other lived among the natives till he had learned their language; then he perswaded them to become Christians, shewing them a Testament, some parts thereof expounding so well as he could, but they so much derided him, that he told them hee feared his God would destroy them: whereat the King assembled all his people about a hill, himselfe with the Christian standing on the top, demanded if his God had so many people and able to kill all those?

He answered yes, and surely would, and bring in strangers to possesse their land: but so long they mocked him and his God, that not long after such a sicknesse came, that of five or six hundred about the Massachusetts there remained but thirty, on whom their neighbours fell and slew twenty-eight: the two remaining fled the Country till the English came, then they returned and surrendered their Country and title to the English.

*A strange
plague
among the
Salvages.*

If this be not true in every particular, excuse me, I pray you, for I am not the Author:² but it is most certaine there

¹ Waste.

² Smith's reference here is to Winslow's "Newes from newe England," which he had used in making the sixth book of the "Generall Historie." See *supra*, p. 714.

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was an exceeding great plague amongst them; for where I have seene two or three hundred, within three yeares after remained scarce thirty. But what disease it was the Salvages knew not till the English told them; never having seene, nor heard of the like before.

Chapter IV.

Our right to those Countries, true reasons for plantations, rare examples.

*By what
right wee
may possesse
those Coun-
tries law-
fully.*

Many good religious devout men have made it a great question, as a matter in conscience, by what warrant they might goe to possesse those Countries, which are none of theirs, but the poor Salvages.

Which poore curiosity will answer it selfe; for God did make the world to be inhabited with mankind, and to have his name knowne to all Nations, and from generation to generation: as the people increased they dispersed themselves into such Countries as they found most convenient. And here in Florida, Virginia, New-England, and Cannada, is more land than all the people in Christendome can manure, and yet more to spare than all the natives of those Countries can use and culturate. And shall we here keepe such a coyle for land, and at such great rents and rates, when there is so much of the world uninhabited, and as much more in other places, and as good or rather better than any wee possesse, were it manured and used accordingly.

If this be not a reason sufficient to such tender consciences; for a copper knife and a few toyes, as beads and hatchets, they will sell you a whole Countrey; and for a small matter, their houses and the ground they dwell upon; but those of the Massachusetts have resigned theirs freely.

*True
reasons for
those plan-
tations.*

Now the reasons for plantations are many. Adam and Eve did first begin this innocent worke to plant the earth to remaine to posterity; but not without labour, trouble, and in-

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dustry. Noah and his family began againe the second plantation, and their seed as it still increased, hath still planted new Countries, and one Country another, and so the world to that estate it is; but not without much hazard, travell, mortalities, discontents, and many disasters: had those worthy Fathers and their memorable off-spring not beene more diligent for us now in those ages, than wee are to plant that yet unplanted for after-livers: Had the seed of Abraham, our Saviour Christ Jesus and his Apostles, exposed themselves to no more dangers to plant the Gospell wee so much professe; than we, even we our selves had at this present beene as Salvages, and as miserable as the most barbarous Salvage, yet uncivilized.

The Hebrews, Lacedemonians, the Goths, Grecians, Romans, and the rest; what was it they would not undertake to enlarge their Territories, enrich their subjects, and resist their enemies. Those that were the founders of those great Monarchies and their vertues, were no silvered idle golden Pharisees, but industrious honest hearted Publicans; they regarded more provisions and necessaries for their people, than jewels, ease and delight for themselves; riches was their servants, not their masters; they ruled as fathers, not as tyrants; their people as children, not as slaves; there was no disaster could discourage them; and let none thinke they incountered not with all manner of incumbrances: and what hath ever beene the worke of the best great Princes of the world, but planting of Countries, and civilizing barbarous and inhumane Nations to civility and humanity; whose eternall actions fils our histories with more honour than those that have wasted and consumed them by warres.

Lastly, the Portugals and Spaniards that first began plantations in this unknowne world of America till within this 140. yeares, whose everlasting actions before our eyes, will testifie our idleness and ingratitude to all posterity, and neglect of our duty and religion we owe our God, our King, and Countrey,

*Rare
examples
of the
Spaniards,
Portugals,
and the
Ancients.*

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and want of charity to those poore Salvages, whose Countries we challenge, use, and possesse: except wee be but made to marre what our forefathers made; or but only tell what they did; or esteeme our selves too good to take the like paines where there is so much reason, liberty, and action offers it selfe. Having as much power and meanes as others, why should English men despaire, and not doe so much as any? Was it vertue in those Heros to provide that doth maintaine us, and basenesse in us to doe the like for others to come? Surely no; then seeing wee are not borne for ourselves but each to helpe other; and our abilities are much alike at the howre of our birth and minute of our death: seeing our good deeds or bad, by faith in Christs merits, is all we have to carry our soules to heaven or hell: Seeing honour is our lives ambition, and our ambition after death, to have an honourable memory of our life: and seeing by no meanes we would be abated of the dignitie and glory of our predecessors, let us imitate their vertues to be worthily their successors; or at least not hinder, if not further, them that would and doe their utmost and best endeavour.

Chapter V.

My first voyage to new England, my returne and profit.

*My first
voyage to
Norumbega
now called
New-
England.
1614.*

To begin with the originals of the voyages to those coasts, I referre you to my generall history; for New England by the most of them was esteemed a most barren rocky desert.

Notwithstanding at the sole charges of four Marchants of London and my selfe, 1614. within eight weekes sayling I arrived at Monahigan, an Ile in America in 43. degrees 39. minutes of Northerly latitude.

Had the fishing for Whale proved as we expected, I had stayed in the Country: but we found the plots wee had, so

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false; and the seasons for fishing and trade by the unskilfulness of our Pylot so much mistaken; I was contented, having taken by hookes and lines, with fiftene or eightene men at most, more than 60000 Cod in less than a moneth: whilst my selfe and eight others of them might best be spared, by an houre glasse of three moneths, ranging the coast in a small boat, got for trifles eleven hundred Bever skins besides Otters and Martins; all amounting to the value of fiftene hundred pound, and arrived in England with all my men in health, in six or seven months.

*We got
1500.
pound in six
months.*

But Northward the French returned this yeare to France five and twenty thousand bevers and good furies; whilst we were contending about Patents and Commissions, with such fearefull incredulity that more dazeled our eyes than opened them.

*25,000
Bevers sent
to France.*

In this voyage I tooke the description of the coast as well by map as writing, and called it New-England: but malicious mindes amongst Sailers and others, drowned that name with the eccho of Nusconcus, Canaday, and Penaquid; till, at my humble sute, our most gracious King Charles, then Prince of Wales, was pleased to confirm it by that title, and did change the barbarous names of their principal Harbours and habitations for such English, that posterity may say King Charles was their Godfather: and in my opinion it should seeme an unmannerly presumption in any that doth alter them without his leave.

My second voyage was to beginne a Plantation, and to doe what else I could, but by extreme tempests that tore neare all my Masts by the boord, being more than two hundred leagues at Sea, I was forced to returne to Plimoth with a Jury-Mast.

*My second
and third
voyage.
1615.*

The third was intercepted by English and French Pyrats, by my trecherous company that betrayed me to them; who ran away with my Ship and all that I had: such enemies the Sailers were to a plantation, and the greatest losse being mine,

1616.

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did easily excuse themselves to the Merchants in England, that still provided to follow the fishing.

Much difference there was betwixt the Londoners and the Westerlings to ingrosse it, who now would adventure thousands, that when I went first would not adventure a groat; yet there went foure or five good Ships: but what by their dissention, and the Turkes men of warre that tooke the best of them in the Straits, they scarce saved themselves this yeare.

Dec. 1615. At my returne from France, I did my best to have united them; but that had beene more than a worke for Hercules, so violent is the folly of greedy covetousnesse.

Chapter VI.

A description of the Coast, Harbours, Habitations, Landmarks, Latitude, Longitude, with the map.

A description of the Country.

This Country wee now speake of, lyeth betwixt 41. and 44 $\frac{1}{2}$, the very meane for heat and cold betwixt the Equinoctiall and the North Pole, in which I have sounded about five and twenty very good Harbors; in many whereof is Ancorage for five hundred good ships of any burden, in some of them for a thousand: and more than three hundred Iles overgrowne with good timber, or divers sorts of other woods; in most of them (in their seasons) plenty of wilde fruits, Fish, and Fowle, and pure springs of most excellent water pleasantly distilling from their rockie foundations.

The principal habitations I was at Northward, was Pennobscot, who are in warres with the Terentines, their next Northernly neighbours.

Southerly up the Rivers, and along the Coast, wee found Mecadacut, Segocket, Pemmaquid, Nusconcus, Sagadahock, Satquin, Aumughcawgen, and Kenabeca: to those belong the countries and people of Segotago, Pauhuntanuck, Pocopas-

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sum, Taughtanakagnet, Wabigganus, Nassaque, Masherosqueck, Wawrigwick, Moshoquen, Waccogo, Pasharanack, etc. To these are alied in confederacy, the Countries of Aucocisco, Accominticus, Passataquak, Augawoam and Naemkeck. All these for any thing I could perceive differ little in language or any thing, though most of them be Sagamos, and Lords of themselves; yet they hold the Bashabes of Pennobscot the chiefe and greatest amongst them.

The next is Mattahunt, Totunt, Massachuset, Paconekick, then Cape Cod, by which is Pawmet, the Iles of Nawset and Capawuck: neere which are the shoules of Rocks and sands that stretch themselves into the maine Sea twenty leagues; and very dangerous betwixt the degrees of 40. and 41.

Now beyond Cape Cod, the land extendeth it selfe Southward to Virginia, Florida, the West Indies, the Amazons and Brasele, to the straits of Magelanus, two and fifty degrees Southward beyond the Line; all those great countries, differing as they are in distance North or South from the Equinoc-tiall, in temper, heat, cold, Woods, Fruits, Fishes, Beasts, Birds, the increase and decrease of the night and day, to six moneths day and six moneths night. Some say, many of those Nations are so brute they have no Religion, wherein surely they may be deceived; for my part I never saw nor heard of any Nation in the world which had not Religion, Deare, Bowes and Arrowes.

*Under the
Equinoc-
tiall, twelve
houres day,
and twelve
night.*

Those in New-England, I take it, beleeeve much alike as those in Virginia, of many divine Powers, yet of one above the rest; as the Southerly Virginians call their chiefe God Kewassa, and that we now inhabit Okee: but all their Kings Werowances. The Massachuset call their great God Kichian, and their Kings Sachemes; and that we suppose their Devill, they call Habamouk. The Pennobscots, their God, Tantum; their Kings, Sagamos. About those Countries are abundance of severall Nations and languages, but much alike in their

*Their
Religion.*

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simple curiosities, living and workemanship, except the wilde estate of their chiefe Kings, &c.

Of whose particular miserable magnificence (yet most happy in this, that they never trouble themselves with such variety of Apparell, Drinkes, Viands, Sawses, Perfumes, Perservatives, and niceties as we; yet live as long, and much more healthfull and hardy): also the deities of their chiefest Gods, Priests, Conjurers, Religion, Temples, Triumphs, Physicke, and Chirurgerie; their births, educations, duty of their women, exercise for their men; how they make all their Instruments and Engines to cut downe Trees, make their Cloaths, Boats, Lines, Nets, Fish-hooks, Weres, and Traps, Mats, Houses, Pots, Platters, Morters, Bowes, Arrowes, Targets, Swords, Clubs, Jewels, and Hatchets. Their severall sorts of Woods, Serpents, Beasts, Fish, Fowle, Roots, Berries, Fruits, Stones, and Clay. Their best trade, what is most fit to trade with them. With the particulars of the charge of a fishing voyage, and all the necessaries belonging to it, their best countries to vent it for their best returnes; also the particulars for every private man or family that goeth to plant, and the best seasons to goe or returne thence; with the particular description of the Salvages, Habitations, Harbours, and Land-markes, their Latitude, Longitude, or severall distance, with their old names and the new by the Map augmented. Lastly, the power of their Kings, obedience of their subjects, Lawes, executions, planting their Fields, Huntings, Fishings, the manner of their warres and treacheries yet knowne; and in generall, their lives and conversation, and how to bridle their brute, barbarous, and salvage dispositions: of all these particulars you may reade at large in the general Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Iles, with many more such strange actions and accidents that to an ordinary capacity might rather seeme miracles than wonders possibly to bee effected; which though they are but wound up as bottoms of fine silke, which with a

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good needle might be flourished into a far larger worke, yet the Images of great things are best discerned, contracted into smaller glasses.

Chapter VII.

New Englands yearely trials, the planting of New Plimoth, surprisals prevented, their wonderful industry and fishing.

For all those differences there went eight tall ships before I arrived in England, from France, so that I spent that yeare in the West Country, to perswade the Cities, Townes, and Gentry for a Plantation; which the Merchants very little liked, because they would have the coast free only for themselves, and the Gentlemen were doubtfull of their true accounts.

*Eight ships
to fish.
1617.*

Oft and much it was so disputed, that at last they promised me the next yeere twenty saile well furnished, made me Admirall of the Country for my life under their hands and the Colonels¹ Seale for New-England; and in renewing their Letters Patents, to be a Patentee for my paines; yet nothing but a voluntary fishing was effected, for all this aire.

1618.

In those yeares many Ships made exceeding good voyages, some in six moneths, others in five: but one of two hundred tunne in six weekes, with eight and thirty men and boyes had her fraught, which shee sold at the first penny for one and twenty hundred pounds, besides her Furies. Six or seven more went out of the West, and some Sailers that had but a single share, had twenty pounds and at home againe in seven moneths: which was more than such a one should have got in twenty moneths, had he gone for wages any where: yet for all this, in all this time, though I had divulged to my great labour, cost and losse, more than seven thousand Bookes and Maps,²

*Eight and
thirty men
in six weeks
tooke two
thousand
one hundred
pounds
worth of
fish.*

¹ So printed in Arber. Probably the word should be "Councils."

² His "Description of New England," 1616, and "New England's Trials," 1st edition, 1620.

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and moved the particular Companies in London, as also Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants for a Plantation, all availed no more than to hew Rocks with Oister-shells; so fresh were the living abuses of Virginia and the Summer Isles in their memories.

At last, upon those inducements, some well disposed Brownists, as they are termed, with some Gentlemen and Merchants of Layden and Amsterdam, to save charges, would try their owne conclusions, though with great losse and much miserie till time had taught them to see their owne error; for such humorists will never beleieve well, till they bee beaten with their owne rod.

They were supplied with a small Ship¹ with seven and thirty passengers, who found all them were left after they were seated, well all but six [who] had died, for all their poverties: in this ship they returned, the value of five hundred pounds, which was taken by a French-man upon the coast of England.

*Seven and
thirty sail
to fish.*

There is gone from the West to fish five and thirty saile; two from London with sixty passengers for them at New Plimoth: and all made good voyages.

Now you are to understand, the seven and thirty passengers miscarrying twice upon the coast of England, came so ill provided, they onely relyed upon that poore company they found, that had lived two yeares by their naked industry, and what the Countrey naturally afforded. It is true, at first, there hath beene taken a thousand Bayeses² at a draught, and more than twelve hogsheads of Herrings in a night; of other fish when and what they would, when they had meanes; but wanting most necessaries for fishing and fowling, it is a wonder how they could subsist, fortifie themselves, resist their enemies, and plant their plants.

1622.

In July, a many of stragling forlorne Englishmen, whose

¹ The *Fortune*, Nov. 11, 1621. Cf. *supra*, pp. 717, 718.

² Bass.

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wants they releevd, though wanted themselves; the which to requite, destroyed their Corne and Fruits, and would have done the like to them, and have surprised what they had. The Salvages also intended the like, but wisely they slew the salvage Captaines; and revenged those injuries upon the fugitive English, that would have done the like to them.¹

Chapter VIII.

Extremity next despaire, Gods great mercy, their estate; they make good salt,
an unknowne rich myne.

At New-Plimoth, having planted there Fields and Gardens, 1623. such an extraordinary drought insued, all things withered, that they expected no harvest; and having long expected a supply, they heard no newes, but a wracke split upon their Coast, they supposed their Ship: thus in the very labyrinth of despaire, they solemnly assembled themselves together nine houres in prayer. At their departure, the parching faire skies all overcast with blacke clouds; and the next morning such a pleasant moderate raine continued fourteene daies, that it was hard to say, whether their withered fruits or drooping affections were most revived.²

Not long after came two Ships³ to supply them, with all their passengers well, except one, and he presently recovered: for themselves, for all their wants, there was not one sicke person amongst them. The greater Ship they returned fraught with commodities.

This yeare went from England, onely to fish, five and forty saile, and have all made a better voyage than euer.

*Five and
forty saile
to fish.*

¹ Weston's Wessagusset colony. See *supra*, pp. 725-731, and Appendix A.

² Ford's Bradford, I, 324, 325.

³ The *Anne* and the *Little James*.

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1624.

In this Plantation there is about an hundred and foure-score persons, some Cattell, but many Swine and Poultry: their Towne containes two and thirty houses, whereof seven were burnt, with the value of five or six hundred pounds in other goods; impailed about halfe a mile, within which within a high Mount, a Fort, with a Watch-tower, well built of stone, lome, and wood, their Ordnance well mounted: and so healthfull, that of the first Planters not one hath died this three yeares: yet at the first landing at Cape Cod, being an hundred passengers, besides twenty they had left behind at Plimoth, for want of good take heed, thinking to finde all things better than I advised them, spent six or seven weekes in wandring up and downe in frost and snow, winde and raine, among the woods, cricks and swamps, forty of them died; and threescore were left in most miserable estate at New-Plimoth where their ship left them, and but nine leagues by Sea from where they landed: whose misery and variable opinions for want of experience, occasioned much faction, till necessity agreed them.

These disasters, losses, and uncertainties, made such disagreement among the Adventurers in England, who beganne to repent, and rather lose all than longer continue the charge, being out of purse six or seven thousand pounds; accounting my bookes and their relations as old Almanacks.

But the Planters, rather than leave the Country, concluded absolutely to supply themselves, and to all their adventurers pay them for nine years two hundred pounds yearly without any other account: where more than six hundred Adventurers for Virginia, for more than two hundred thousand pounds, had not sixpence.

*They make
store of
good salt.*

Since they have made a salt worke, wherewith they preserve all the fish they take; and have fraughted this yeare a ship of an hundred and foure score tun: living so well they desire nothing but more company: and what ever they take, retorne commodities to the value.

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Thus you may plainly see, although many envying I should bring so much from thence, where many others had beene; and some, the same yeare, returned with nothing, reported the Fish and Bevers I brought home, I had taken from the French men of Canada, to discourage any from beleiving me, and excuse their owne misprisions: some onely to have concealed this good Country (as is said) to their private use; others taxed me as much of indiscretion, to make my discoveries and designes so publike for nothing, which might have beene so well managed by some concealers, to have beene all rich ere any had knowne of it.

Those, and many such like wise rewards, have beene my recompences: for which I am contented, so the Country prosper, and Gods Name bee there praised by my Country-men, I have my desire: and the benefit of this salt and fish, for breeding Mariners and building ships, will make so many fit men to raise a Common-wealth, if but managed as my general history will show you, it might well by this have beene as profitable as the best Mine the King of Spaine hath in his West Indies.

*An
incredible
rich mine.*

Chapter IX.

Notes worth observation: miserableness no good husbandry.

Now if you but truly consider how many strange accidents have befallen those plantations and my selfe; how oft up, how oft downe, sometimes neere despaire, and ere long flourishing; how many scandals and Spanolized English have sought to disgrace them, bring them to ruine, or at least hinder them all they could; how many have shaven and couzened both them and me, and their most honourable supporters and well-willers: cannot but conceive Gods infinite mercy both to them and me.

*Notes
worthy
observation.*

Having beene a slave to the Turks, prisoner amongst the most barbarous Salvages, after my deliverance commonly dis-

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covering and ranging those large rivers and unknowne Nations with such a handfull of ignorant companions that the wiser sort often gave mee for lost, alwayes in mutinies wants and miseries, blowne up with gunpowder: A long time prisoner among the French Pyrats, from whom escaping in a little boat by my selfe, and adrift all such a stormy winter night, when their ships were split, more than a hundred thousand pound lost they had taken at sea, and most of them drowned upon the Ile of Ree, not far from whence I was driven on shore in my little boat &c. And many a score of the worst of winter moneths lived in the fields: yet to have lived neere 37. yeares in the midst of warres, pestilence and famine, by which many an hundred thousand have died about mee, and scarce five living of them went first with me to Virginia: and see the fruits of my labours thus well begin to prosper: though I have but my labour for my paines, have I not much reason both privately and publikely to acknowledge it and give God thanks, whose omnipotent power onely delivered me, to doe the utmost of my best to make his name knowne in those remote parts of the world, and his loving mercy to such a miserable sinner.

*Goods ill
gotten ill
spent.*

Had my designes beene to have perswaded men to a mine of gold, as I know many have done that knew no such matter; though few doe conceive either the charge or paines in refining it, nor the power nor care to defend it: or some new invention to passe to the South Sea: or some strange plot to invade some strange Monastery; or some chargeable Fleet to take some rich Charaques:¹ or letters of mart to rob some poore Merchant or honest fisher men: what multitudes of both people and money would contend to be first imployed. But in those noble indevours now, how few, unlesse it bee to begge them as Monopolies, and those seldome seeke the common good, but the commons goods, as the 217. the 218. and

¹ Carracks.

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the 219. pages in the generall history will show.¹ But only those noble Gentlemen and their associates, for whose better encouragements I have recollected those experienced memorandums, as an Apologie against all calumniating detracters, as well for my selfe as them.

Now since them called Brownists went (some few before them also having my bookes and maps, presumed they knew as much as they desired); many other directers they had as wise as themselves, but that was best that liked² their owne conceits: for indeed they would not be knowne to have any knowledge of any but themselves, pretending onely Religion their governour, and frugality their counsell, when indeed it was onely their pride, and singularity, and contempt of authority; because they could not be equals, they would have no superiors. In this fooles Paradise, they so long used that good husbandry, they have payed soundly in trying their owne follies: who undertaking in small handfuls to make many plantations, and to bee severall Lords and Kings of themselves, most vanished to nothing; to the great disparagement of the generall businesse, therefore let them take heed that doe follow their example.

*Miserable-
nesse no good
husbandry.*

Chapter X.

The mistaking of Patents, strange effects, encouragements for servants.

Who would not thinke that all those certainties should not have made both me and this Countrey have prospered well by this? but it fell out otherwayes. For by the instigation of some, whose policy had long watched their oportunity by the assurance of those profitable returnes, procured new Letters Patents from King James; drawing in many Noblemen and

1625-
1628.

¹ See *supra*, pp. 679-685.

² Was suited to.

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*The effect
of the last
great
Patent.*

others to the number of twenty, for Patentees; dividing my map and that tract of land from the North Sea to the South Sea, East and West, which is supposed by most Cosmographers at least more than two thousand miles; and from 41. degrees to 48. of Northerly latitude about 560 miles; the bounds Virginia to the South, and South Sea to the West, Canada to the North, and the maine Ocean to the East; all this they divided into twenty parts, for which they cast lots:¹ but no lot for me but Smiths Iles,² which are a many of barren rocks, the most over growne with such shrubs and sharpe whins you can hardly passe them; without either grasse or wood but three or foure short shrubby old Cedars.

*A Procla-
mation for
New
England.*

Those Patentees procured a Proclamation, that no ship should goe thither to fish but pay them for the publike, as it was pretended, five pound upon every thirty tuns of shipping; neither trade with the natives, cut downe wood, throw their balast over boord, nor plant without commission, leave and content to the Lord of that division or Manor; some of which for some of them I beleeeve will be tenantlesse this thousand yeare. Thus whereas this Country, as the contrivers of those projects, should have planted it selfe of it selfe; especially all the chiefe parts along the coast the first yeare, as they have oft told me: and chiefly by the fishing ships and some small helpe of their owne, thinking men would be glad upon any termes to be admitted under their protections: but it proved so contrary, none would goe at all. So, for feare to make a contempt against the Proclamation, it hath ever since beene little frequented to any purpose: nor would they doe any thing, but left it to it selfe.

*Memoran-
dums for
Masters.*

Thus it lay againe in a manner vast,³ till those noble Gentlemen thus voluntarily undertooke it, whom I intreat to take this

¹ The Council for New England, June 29, 1623.

² The Isles of Shoals.

³ Waste.

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as a memorandum of my love, to make your plantations so neere and great as you can: for many hands make light worke, whereas yet your small parties can doe nothing availeable; nor stand too much upon the letting, setting, or selling those wild Countries, nor impose too much upon the commonalty either by your maggazines which commonly eat out all poore mens labours; nor any other too hard imposition for present gaine; but let every man so it bee by order allotted him, plant freely without limitation so much as hee can, bee it by the halfes or other wayes. And at the end of five or six yeares, or when you make a division, for every acre he hath planted, let him have twenty, thirty, forty, or an hundred; or as you finde hee hath extraordinarily deserved, by it selfe to him and his heires for ever; all his charges being defrayed to his lord or master, and publike good.

In so doing, a servant that will labour, within foure or five yeares may live as well there as his master did here: for where there is so much land lie waste, it were a madnesse in a man at the first to buy, or hire, or pay any thing more than an acknowledgment to whom it shall be due; and hee is double mad that will leave his friends, meanes, and freedome in England, to be worse there than here.

*Incourage-
ments for
servants.*

Therefore let all men have as much freedome in reason as may be, and true dealing; for it is the greatest comfort you can give them, where the very name of servitude will breed much ill bloud, and become odious to God and man: but mildly temper correction with mercy, for I know well you will have occasion enough to use both; and in thus doing, doubtlesse God will blesse you, and quickly triple and multiply your numbers; the which to my utmost I will doe my best endeavour.

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Chapter XI.

The planting Bastable or Salem and Charlton, a description of the Massachusetts.

The planting Salem.

In all those plantations, yea, of those that have done least, yet the most will say, we were the first; and so every next supply, still the next beginner: But seeing history is the memory of time, the life of the dead, and the happinesse of the living; because I have more plainly discovered, and described, and discoursed of those Countries than any as yet I know, I am the bolder to continue the story, and doe all men right so neere as I can in those new beginnings, which hereafter perhaps may bee in better request than a forest of nine dayes pamphlets.

Their provisions for Salem.

In the yeare 1629. about March, six good ships are gone with 350. men, women, and children; people professing themselves of good ranke, zeale, meanes, and quality: also 150. head of cattell, as horse, mares, and neat beasts; 41 goats, some conies, with all provision for household and apparell; six peeces of great Ordnance for a Fort, with Muskets, Pikes, Corslets, Drums and Colours, with all provisions necessary for the good of man.¹

They are seated about 42. degrees and 38. minutes, at a place called by the natives Naemkecke, by our Royall King Charles, Bastable; but now by the planters, Salem: where they arrived for most part exceeding well, their cattell and all things else prospering exceedingly, farre beyond their expectation.

The planting Salem and Charlton.

At this place they found some reasonable good provision and houses built by some few of Dorchester, with whom they are joyned in society with two hundred men.

An hundred and fifty more they have sent to the Massachusetts, which they call Charlton or Charles Towne.

¹ The Massachusetts Bay Company sent over five ships in 1629, viz.: the *Talbot*, the *George*, the *Lyon's Whelp*, the *Four Sisters*, and the *Mayflower*.

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I took the fairest reach in this Bay for a river, whereupon I called it Charles river, after the name of our Royall King Charles; but they find that faire Channell to divide itselfe into so many faire branches as made forty or fifty pleasant Ilands within that excellent Bay, where the land is of divers and sundry sorts, in some places very blacke and fat, in others good clay, sand and gravell, the superficies neither too flat in plaines, nor too high in hils. In the Iles you may keep your hogs, horse, cattell, conies, or poultry, and secure for little or nothing, and to command when you list; onely having a care of provision for some extraordinary cold winter. In these Iles, as in the maine, you may make your nurseries for fruits and plants where you put no cattell; in the maine you may shape your Orchards, Vineyards, Pastures, Gardens, Walkes, Parkes, and Corne fields out of the whole peece as you please into such plots, one adjoining to another, leaving every of them invironed with two, three, foure, or six, or so many rowes of well growne trees as you will, ready growne to your hands, to defend them from ill weather, which in a champion^r you could not in many ages; and this at first you may doe with as much facility, as carelesly or ignorantly cut downe all before you, and then after better consideration made ditches, pales, plant young trees with excessive charge and labour, seeing you may have so many great and small growing trees for your maine-posts, to fix hedges, palisados, houses, rales or what you will. Which order in Virginia hath not beene so well observed as it might: where all the woods for many an hundred mile for the most part grow sleight, like unto the high grove or tuft of trees upon the high hill by the house of that worthy Knight Sir Humphrey Mildmay, so remarkable in Essex in the Parish of Danbery, where I writ this discourse, but much taller and greater; neither grow they so thick together by the halfe, and much good ground betweene them without shrubs, and the

A description of the Massachusetts Bay.

^r Champain, an open plain.

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best is ever knowne by the greatnesse of the trees and the vesture it beareth.

Now in New-England the trees are commonly lower, but much thicker and firmer wood, and more proper for shipping, of which I will speake a little, being the chiefe engine wee are to use in this worke; and the rather for that within a square of twenty leagues, you may have all, or most of the chiefe materials belonging to them, were they wrought to their perfection as in other places.

*The master-
peece of
workman-
ship.*

Of all fabricks a ship is the most excellent, requiring more art in building, rigging, sayling, trimming, defending, and mooring, with such a number of severall termes and names in continuall motion, not understood of any land man, as none would thinke of, but some few that know them; for whose better instruction I writ my Sea-Grammar: a booke most necessary for those plantations, because there is scarce any thing belonging to a ship, but the Sea-termes, charge and duty of every officer is plainly expressed, and also any indifferent capacity may conceive how to direct an unskilfull Carpenter, or Sailer to build Boats and Barkes sufficient to saile those coasts and rivers, and put a good workman in minde of many things in this business hee may easily mistake or forget.

But to be excellent in this faculty is the master-peece of all most necessary workmen in the world. The first rule or modell thereof being directed by God himselfe to Noah for his Arke; which he never did to any other building but his Temple: which is tossed and turned up and downe the world with the like dangers, miseries, and extremities as a ship, sometimes tasting the fury of the foure Elements, as well as shee, by unlimited tyrants in their cruelty for tortures, that it is hard to conceive whether those inhumanes exceed the beasts of the Forrest, the birds of the Aire, the fishes of the Sea, either in numbers, greatnesse, swiftnesse, fiercenesse, or cruelty: whose actions and varieties, with such memorable observations

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as I have collected, you shall finde with admiration in my history of the Sea, if God be pleased I live to finish it.

Chapter XII.

Extraordinary meanes for building, many caveats, increase of corne, how to spoyle the woods for any thing, their healths.

For the building houses, townes, and fortresses, where shall a man finde the like conveniency, as stones of most sorts, as well lime stone, if I be not much deceived, as Iron stone, smooth stone, blew slate for covering houses, and great rockes we supposed Marble, so that one place is called the marble harbour.

*Extraordinary
meanes for
buildings.*

There is grasse plenty, though very long and thicke stalked, which being neither mowne nor eaten, is very ranke; yet all their cattell like and prosper well therewith: but indeed it is weeds, herbs, and grasse growing together, which although they be good and sweet in the Summer, they will deceive your cattell in winter. Therefore be carefull in the Spring to mow the swamps, and the low Ilands of Auguan, where you may have harsh sheare-grasse enough to make hay of, till you can cleare ground to make pasture; which will beare as good grasse as can grow any where, as now it doth in Virginia: and unlesse you make this provision, if there come an extraordinary winter, you will lose many of them and hazard the rest; especially if you bring them in the latter end of Summer, or before the grasse bee growne in the Spring, comming weake from Sea.¹

*Caveats for
cattell.*

All things they plant prosper exceedingly: but one man of 13. gallons of Indian corne, reaped that yeare 364. bushels London measure, as they confidently report, at which I much wonder, having planted many bushels, but no such increase.

¹ Most of the horses that were shipped to Salem in 1629 died on the voyage.

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*How to
spoyle the
woods for
pasture and
corne.*

The best way wee found in Virginia to spoile the woods, was first to cut a notch in the barke a hand broad round about the tree, which pill off and the tree will sprout no more, and all the small boughs in a yeare or two will decay: the greatest branches in the root they spoyle with fire, but you with more ease may cut them from the body and they will quickly rot.

Betwixt those trees they plant their corne, whose great bodies doe much defend it from extreme gusts, and heat of the Sunne; where that in the plaines, where the trees by the time they have consumed, is subject to both: and this is the most easie way to have pasture and corne fields, which is much more fertile than the other.

In Virginia they never manure their overworne fields, which is very few, the ground for the most part is so fertile: but in New-England they doe, sticking at every plant of corne, a herring or two; which commeth in that season in such abundance, they may take more than they know what to doe with.

*A silly com-
plaint of
cold, the
reason and
remedy.*

Some infirmed bodies, or tender educats,¹ complaine of the piercing cold, especially in January and February; yet the French in Canada, the Russians, the Swethlanders, Polanders, Germans, and our neighbour Hollanders, are much colder and farre more Northward; for all that, rich Countreyes and live well. Now they have wood enough if they will cut it, at their doores to make fires; and traine oyle with the splinters of the roots of firre trees for candles: where as in Holland they have little or none to build ships, houses, or anything but what they fetch from forren Countries, yet they dwell but in the latitude of Yorkshire; and New-England is in the height of the North cape of Spaine, which is 10. degrees, 200. leagues, or 600. miles nearer the Sunne than wee, where upon the mountaines of Bisky I have felt as much cold, frost, and snow as in England. And of this I am sure, a good part of the best Countries and kingdomes of the world, both Northward and

¹ This word seems to be used in the most obvious etymological meaning.

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Southward of the line, lie in the same paralels of Virginia and New-England, as at large you may finde in the 210. page of the generall history.¹

Thus you may see how prosperously thus farre they have proceeded, in which course by Gods grace they may continue; but great care would be had they pester not their ships too much with cattell nor passengers, and to make good conditions for your peoples diet, for therein is used much legerdemaine: therefore in that you cannot be too carefull to keepe your men well, and in health at Sea. In this case some masters are very provident, but the most part so they can get fraught enough, care not much whether the passengers live or die; for a common sailer regards not a landman, especially a poore passenger; as I have seene too oft approved by lamentable experience, although we have victualled them all at our owne charges.

*Provisoes
for passen-
gers and
saylers at
sea.*

Chapter XIII.

Their great supplies, present estate and accidents, advantage.

Who would not thinke but that all those trials had beene sufficient to lay a foundation for a plantation; but we see many men many mindes, and still new Lords, new lawes: for those 350 men with all their cattell that so well arived and promised so much, not being of one body, but severall mens servants, few could command and fewer obey, lived merrily of that they had, neither planting or building anything to any purpose, but one faire house for the Governour, till all was spent and the winter approached; then they grew into many diseases, and as many inconveniences, depending only of a supply from England, which expected Houses, Gardens, and Corne fields ready planted by them for their entertainment.

*Their
present
estate.
1630.*

It is true, that Master John Wynthrop, their now Gover-

¹ See *supra*, pp. 665, 666.

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nour, a worthy Gentleman both in estate and esteeme, went so well provided (for six or seven hundred people went with him) as could be devised; but at Sea, such an extraordinarie storme encountred his Fleet, continuing ten daies, that of two hundred Cattell which were so tossed and brused, threescore and ten died, many of their people fell sicke, and in this perplexed estate, after ten weekes, they arrived in New-England at severall times: where they found threescore of their people dead, the rest sicke, nothing done; but all complaining, and all things so contrary to their expectation, that now every monstrous humor began to shew itselfe.¹

And to second this, neare as many more came after them, but so ill provided, with such multitudes of women and children, as redoubled their necessities.

*The fruits
of counter-
feits.*

This small triall of their patience caused among them no small confusion, and put the Governour and his Councell to their utmost wits. Some could not endure the name of a Bishop, others not the sight of a Crosse nor Surplesse, others by no meanes the booke of common Prayer. This absolute crue, only of the Elect, holding all (but such as themselves) reprobrates and cast-awaies, now make more haste to returne to Babel as they tearmed England, than stay to enjoy the land they called Canaan: somewhat they must say to excuse themselves.

Those he² found Brownists, hee let goe for New-Plimoth; who are now betwixt foure or five hundred, and live well without want.

Some two hundred of the rest he was more content to returne for England, whose clamors are as variable as their

¹ Cf. Ford's Bradford, II, 89-96. John Endicott procured for his Salem people the help of Samuel Fuller, the physician at New Plymouth and a deacon in the church there. Prof. Williston Walker holds that Fuller not only cured the Salem folks of scurvy but also converted them to Separatism.

² *I.e.*, Governor Winthrop. Rev. Ralph Smith left the Salem colony because it was not Separatist enough for him. On the other hand, Endicott sent back to England some who thought that Salem was progressing too rapidly towards Separatism.

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humours and Auditors. Some say they could see no timber of two feet diameter, some the Country is all Woods; others they drunke all the Springs and Ponds dry, yet like to famish for want of fresh water; some of the danger of the rattell Snake; and that others sold their provisions at what rates they pleased to them that wanted, and so returned to England great gainers out of others miseries: yet all that returned are not of those humors.

Notwithstanding all this, the noble Governour was no way disanimated, neither repents him of his enterprize for all those mistakes: but did order all things with that temperance and discretion, and so releevd those that wanted with his owne provision, that there is six or seven hundred remained with him; and more than 1600. English in all the Country, with three or foure hundred head of Cattell.

As for Corne they are very ignorant, if upon the coast of America, they doe not before the end of this October¹ (for toies²) furnish themselves with two or three thousand bushels of Indian Corne, which is better than ours; and in a short time cause the Salvages to doe them as good service as their owne men, as I did in Virginia; and yet neither use cruelty nor tyranny amongst them: a consequence well worth putting in practice; and till it be effected, they will hardly doe well.

I know ignorance will say it is impossible, but this impossible taske, ever since the massacre in Virginia, I have been a suter to have undertaken but with 150. men, to have got Corne, fortified the Country, and discovered them more land than they all yet know or have demonstrated: but the Merchants common answer was, necessity in time would force the Planters [to] doe it themselves; and rather thus husbandly to lose ten sheepe, than be at the charge of a halfe penny worth of Tarre.

¹ 1630. This fixes the date of the writing of the Advertisements.

² *I.e.*, in exchange for trifles.

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Note well.

Who is it that knowes not what a small handfull of Spaniards in the West Indies, subdued millions of the inhabitants, so depopulating those Countries they conquered, that they are glad to buy Negroes in Affrica at a great rate, in Countries farre remote from them; which although they bee as idle and as devilish people as any in the world, yet they cause them quickly to bee their best servants. Notwithstanding, there is for every foure or five naturall Spaniards, two or three hundred Indians and Negros; and in Virginia and New-England more English than Salvages that can assemble themselves to assault or hurt them, and it is much better to helpe to plant a country than unplant it and then replant it: but there Indians were in such multitudes, the Spaniards had no other remedy; and ours such a few, and so dispersed, it were nothing in a short time to bring them to labour and obedience.

It is strange to me, that English men should not doe as much as any; but upon every sleight affront, instead to amend it, we make it worse. Notwithstanding the worst of all those rumours, the better sort there are constant in their resolutions, and so are the most of their best friends here; and making provision to supply them, many conceit they make a dearth here, which is nothing so; for they would spend more here than they transport thither.

1630.

One Ship this Summer with twenty cattell, and forty or fifty passengers arived all well; and the Ship at home againe in nine weekes: another for all this exclamation of want, is returned with 10000. Corfish, and fourescore Kegs of Sturgeon; which they did take and save when the season was neare past, and in the very heat of Summer; yet as good as can be.

Since another ship is gone from Bristow, and many more a providing to follow them with all speed. Thus you may plainly see for all these rumours, they are in no such distressse as is supposed: as for their mischances, misprisions, or what accidents may befall them, I hope none is so malicious, as attribute

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the fault to the Country nor mee: yet if some blame us not both, it were more than a wonder. For I am not ignorant that ignorance and too curious spectators, make it a great part of their profession to censure (however) any mans actions, who having lost the path to vertue, will make most excellent shifts to mount up any way; such incomparable connivency is in the Devils most punctuall cheaters, they will hazard a joint, but where God hath his Church they wil have a Chapel; a mischiefe so hard to be prevented, that I have thus plainly adventured to shew my affection, through the weaknesse of my abilitie. You may easily know them by their absolutenesse in opinions, holding experience but the mother of fooles, which indeed is the very ground of reason; and he that contemnes her in those actions, may finde occasion enough to use all the wit and wisdome hee hath to correct his owne folly, that thinkes to finde amongst those salvages such Churches, Palaces, Monuments, and Buildings as are in England.

Chapter XIV.

Ecclesiasticall government in Virginia, authority from the Arch Bishop, their beginning at Bastable now called Salem.

Now because I have spoke so much for the body, give me leave to say somewhat of the soule; and the rather because I have beene demanded by so many, how we beganne to preach the Gospell in Virginia, and by what authority; what Churches we had, our order of service, and maintenance for our Ministers; therefore I thinke it not amisse to satisfie their demands, it being the mother of all our Plantations, intreating pride to spare laughter, to understand her simple beginning and proceedings.

Ecclesiasticall government in Virginia.

When I went first to Virginia, I well remember wee did

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hang an awning (which is an old saile) to three or foure trees to shadow us from the Sunne, our walles were rales of wood, our seats unhewed trees till we cut plankes, our Pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighbouring trees. In foule weather we shifted into an old rotten tent; for we had few better, and this came by the way of adventure for new. This was our Church, till wee built a homely thing like a barne, set upon Cratchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth; so was also the walls: the best of our houses of the like curiosity; but the most part farre much worse workmanship, that could neither well defend wind nor raine.

Yet wee had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two Sermons, and every three moneths the holy Communion, till our Minister died: but our Prayers daily, with an Homily on Sundaies, we continued two or three yeares after, till more Preachers came: and surely God did most mercifully heare us, till the continuall inundations of mistaking directions, factions, and numbers of unprovided Libertines neere consumed us all, as the Israelites in the wilderness.

*Their
estates at
this day.*

Notwithstanding, out of the relicks of our miseries, time and experience had brought that Country to a great happinesse; had they not so much doated on their Tabacco, on whose fumish foundation there is small stability: there being so many good commodities besides. Yet by it they have builded many pretty Villages, faire houses, and Chapels, which are growne good Benefices of 120. pounds a yeare, besides their owne mundall industry. But James towne was 500. pounds a yeare, as they say, appointed by the Councell here, allowed by the Councell there, and confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, Primate and Metrapolitan of all England, An. 1605. to master Richard Hacluit Prebend of Westminster: who by his authority sent master Robert Hunt, an honest, religious, and couragious Divine; during whose life our factions were oft qualified, our wants and greatest extremities so com-

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forted, that they seemed easie in comparison of what we endured after his memorable death.

Now in New-England they have all our examples to teach them how to beware, and choice men, wee most ignorant in all things, or little better; therefore presage not the event of all such actions by our defaultments: For they write, they doubt not ere long to be able to defend themselves against any indifferent enemy; in the interim, they have Preachers erected among themselves, and Gods true Religion (they say) taught amongst them, the Sabbath day observed, the common Prayer (as I understand) and Sermons performed, and diligent catechizing, with strict and carefull exercise, and commendable good orders to bring those people with whom they have to deale withall into a Christian conversation, to live well, to feare God, serve the King, and love the Country; which done, in time from both those Plantations may grow a good addition to the Church of England: but Rome was not built in one day, whose beginnings was once as unhopefull as theirs; and to make them as eminent shall be my humble and hearty prayers.

*Their order
of teaching
in Salem.*

But as yet it is not well understood of any authority they have sought for the government and tranquility of the Church, which doth cause those suspicions of factions in Religion; wherein although I be no Divine, yet I hope without offence I may speake my opinion as well in this, as I have done in the rest.

*The miserable
effects
of faction
in Religion.*

He that will but truly consider the greatnesse of the Turks Empire and power here in Christendome, shall finde the naturall Turkes are generally of one religion, and the Christians in so many divisions and opinions, that they are among themselves worse enemies than the Turkes: whose disjoyntednesse hath given him that opportunity to command so many hundred thousand of Christians as he doth; where had they beene constant to one God, one Christ, and one Church, Christians might have beene more able to have commanded as many Turkes, as

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now the Turkes doe poore miserable Christians. Let this example remember you to beware of faction in that nature: for my owne part, I have seene many of you here in London goe to Church as orderly as any.

*The
necessity of
order and
authority.*

Therefore I doubt not but you will seeke to the prime authority of the Church of England, for such an orderly authority as in most mens opinions is fit for you both to intreat for and to have, which I thinke will not be denied; and you have good reason, seeing you have such liberty to transport so many of his Majesties subjects, with all sorts of cattell, armes, and provision as you please, and can provide means to accomplish: nor can you have any certaine reliefe, nor long subsist, without more supplies from England. Besides, this might prevent many inconveniences may insue, and would clearely take away all those idle and malicious rumours, and occasion you many good and great friends and assistance you yet dreame not of; for you know better than I can tell, that the maintainers of good Orders and Lawes is the best preservation next God of a Kingdome: but when they are stuffed with hypocrisie and corruption, that state is not doubtfull but lamentable in a well settled Common-wealth, much more in such as yours, which is but a beginning, for as the Lawes corrupt, the state consumes.

Chapter XV.

The true modell of a plantation, tenure, increase of trade, true examples, necessity of expert Souldiers, the names of all the first discoverers for plantations, and their actions, what is requisite to be in the Governour of a plantation, the expedition of Queene Elizabeths Sea Captaines.

In regard of all that is past, it is better of those slow proceedings than lose all, and better to amend late than never. I know how hatefull it is to envy, pride, flattery, and greatnesse

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to be advised, but I hope my true meaning wise men will excuse, for making my opinion plaine: I have beene so often and by so many honest men intreated for the rest, the more they mislike it, the better I like it myselfe.

*The effect of
a Cittadell,
or the true
modell of a
Plantation.*

Concerning this point of a Cittadell, it is not the least, though the last remembred: therefore seeing you have such good meanes and power of your owne I never had, with the best convenient speed may be erect a Fort, a Castle or Cittadell, which in a manner is all one. Towards the building, provision, and maintenance thereof, every man for every acre he doth culturate to pay foure pence yearly, and some small matter out of every hundred of fish taken or used within five or ten miles, or as you please about it; it being the Center as a Fortresse for ever belonging to the State, and when the charge shall be defrayed to the chiefe undertaker (in reason) let him be Governour for his life: the overplus to goe forward to the erecting another in like manner in a most convenient place; and so one after another, as your abilities can accomplish, by benevolences, forfeitures, fines, and impositions, as reason and the necessitie of the common good requireth; all men holding their lands on those manners as they doe of Churches, Universities, and Hospitals, but all depending upon one principall, and this would avoid all faction among the Superiors, extremities from the comminalty, and none would repine at such payments, when they shall see it justly employed for their owne defence and security. As for corruption in so small a Government; you may quickly perceive, and punish it accordingly.

Now as his Majesty hath made you custome-free for seven yeares, have a care that all your Country-men that shall come to trade with you, be not troubled with Pilatage, Boyage, Anchorage, Wharfage, Custome, or any such tricks as hath beene lately used in most of new Plantations, where they would be Kings before their folly; to the discouragement of many, and a scorne to them of understanding: for Dutch, French, Biskin,

*The condi-
tions of
trade and
freedome.*

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

or any will as yet use freely the Coast without controule, and why not English as well as they.

Therefore use all commers with that respect, courtesie, and liberty is fitting; which in a short time will much increase your trade, and shipping to fetch it from you: for as yet it were not good to adventure any more abroad with factors till you bee better provided. Now there is nothing more inricheth a Common-wealth than much trade: nor no meanes better to increase than small custome, as Holland, Genua, Ligorne, and divers other those places can well tell you; and doth most beggar places where they take most custome, as Turkie, the Archipelagan Iles, Cicilia,^x and Spanish ports, but that their officers will connive to inrich themselves, though undoe the State.

In this your infancy, imagine you have many eyes attending your actions, some for one end, and some onely to finde fault; neglect therefore no opportunity, to informe his Majesty truly your orderly proceedings, which if it be to his liking, and contrary to the common rumour here in England, doubtlesse his Majesty will continue you custome free, till you have recovered yourselves, and are able to subsist.

For till such time, to take any custome from a Plantation is not the way to make them prosper; nor is it likely those Patentees shall accomplish anything, that will neither maintaine them nor defend them, but with Countenances, Councells, and advice, which any reasonable man there may better advise himselfe, than one thousand of them here who were never there: nor will any man, that hath any wit, throw himselfe into such a kinde of subjection, especially at his owne cost and charges; but it is too oft seene that sometimes one is enough to deceive one hundred, but two hundred not sufficient to keepe one from being deceived.

I speak not this to discourage any with vaine feares, but could wish every Englishman to carry alwaies this Motto in

^x Sicily ?

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his heart; Why should the brave Spanish Souldiers brag; *The Spaniards glory.*
The Sunne never sets in the Spanish dominions, but ever
shineth on one part or other we have conquered for our King:
who within these few hundred of yeares, was one of the least
of most of his neighbours; but to animate us to doe the like
for ours, who is no way his inferior.

And truly there is no pleasure comparable to a generous
spirit; as good imployment in noble actions, especially amongst
Turks, Heathens, and Infidels; to see daily new Countries,
people, fashions, governments, stratagems; releeve the op-
pressed, comfort his friends, passe miseries, subdue enemies,
adventure upon any feazable danger for God and his Country.
It is true, it is a happy thing to be borne to strength, wealth,
and honour; but that which is got by prowess and magnani-
mity is the truest lustre: and those can the best distinguish
content, that have escaped most honourable dangers; as if, out
of every extremity, he found himselfe now borne to a new life,
to learne how to amend and maintaine his age.

Those harsh conclusions have so oft plundered me in those *Provisoos for exercise of Armes.*
perplexed actions, that if I could not freely expresse my selfe
to them [who] doth second them, I should thinke my selfe
guilty of a most damnable crime worse than ingratitude; how-
ever some over-weining capricious conceits may attribute it to
vaine-glory, ambition, or what other idle Epithete such pleased
to bestow on me. But such trash I so much scorne, that I
presume further to advise those, lesse advised than myselfe,
that as your fish and trade increaseth, so let your forts and
exercise of armes; drilling your men at your most convenient
times, to ranke, file, march, skirmish, and retire, in file, man-
aples, battalia, or ambuskados, which service there is most
proper; also how to assault and defend your forts, and be not
sparing of a little extraordinary shot and powder to make them
mark-men, especially your Gentlemen, and those you finde
most capable, for shot must be your best weapon: yet all this

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will not doe unlesse you have at least 100. or as many as you can, of expert, blounded, approved good Souldiers, who dare boldly lead them; not to shoot a ducke, a goose or a dead marke, but at men, from whom you must expect such as you send.

The want of this, and the presumptuous assurance of literall Captaines, was the losse of the French and Spaniards in Florida, each surprising other; and lately neare the ruine of Mevis, and Saint Christophers in the Indies: also the French at Port Riall, and those at Canada, now your next English neighbours: Lastly, Cape Britton not far from you, called New-Scotland.

Questionlesse there were some good Souldiers among them, yet somewhat was the cause they were undone by those that watched the advantage of opportunity: for as rich preyes make true men theeves; so you must not expect, if you be once worth taking and unprovided, but by some to bee attempted in the like manner: to the prevention whereof, I have not beene more willing, at the request of my friends to print this discourse, than I am ready to live and dye among you, upon conditions suting my calling and profession to make good; and¹ Virginia and New-England, my heires, executors, administrators and assignes.

*A reference
to the action
of all our
prime dis-
coverers and
planters.*

Now because I cannot expresse halfe that which is necessary for your full satisfaction and instruction belonging to this businesse in this small pamphlet, I referre you to the generall history of Virginia, the Summer Iles, and New-England; wherein you may plainly see all the discoveries, plantations, accidents, the misprisions and causes of defailments of all those noble and worthy Captaines; Captaine Philip Amadas, and Barlow; that most renowned Knight Sir Richard Greenville, worthy Sir Ralph Layne, and learned Master Hariot, Captaine John White, Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold, Captaine Martin Pring, and George Waymouth; with mine owne observations

¹ Understand "to make."

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by sea, rivers, and land, and all the governours that yearely succeeded mee in Virginia. Also those most industrious Capitaines, Sir George Summers, and Sir Thomas Gates; with all the governours that succeeded them in the Summer Isles. Likewise the plantation of Sagadahock, by those noble Capitaines, George Popham, Rawley Gilbert, Edward Harlow, Robert Davis, James Davis, John Davis, and divers others; with the maps of those Countries.

With it also you may finde the plantations of Saint Christophers, Mevis, the Barbados, and the great river of the Amazons; whose greatest defects, and the best meanes to amend them are there yearely recorded, to be warnings and examples to them that are not too wise to learne to understand.

This great worke, though small in conceit, is not a worke for every one to mannage such an affaire, as make a discovery, and plant a Colony, it requires all the best parts of art, judgement, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence, and industry, to doe but neere well; some are more proper for one thing than another, and therein best to be imployed, and nothing breeds more confusion than misplacing and misimploying men in their undertakings. Columbus, Curtes, Pitzara, Zotto, Magellanus, and the rest, served more than an apprenticeship to learne how to begin their most memorable attempts in the West Indies, which to the wonder of all ages, successfully they effected; when many hundreds farre above them in the worlds opinion, being instructed but by relation, scorning to follow their blunt examples, but in great state, with new inventions, came to shame and confusion in actions of small moment, who doubtlesse in other matters, were both wise, discreet, generous and courageous. I say not this to detract anything from their noblenesse, state, nor greatnesse; but to answer those questionlesse questions that keepe us from imitating the others brave spirits, that advanced themselves from poore Souldiers to great Capitaines, their posterity to great Lords, and their

*What is
requisite to
be in a
Governour
of a
plantation.*

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

*The expedi-
tions of
Queene
Elizabeths
Sea-
Captaines.*

King to be one of the greatest potentates on earth, and the fruits of their labours his greatest glory, power, and renowne.

Till his greatnesse and security made his so rich remote and dispersed plantations such great booties and honours, to the incomparable Sir Fr. Drake, the renowned Captain Candish, Sir Richard Luson, Sir John Hawkins, Captaine Carlile, and Sir Martin Furbisher, &c. and the most memorable and right honourable Earles, Cumberland, Essex, Southampton, and Nottingham that good L[ord]. Admirall; with many hundreds of brave English Souldiers, Captaines and Gentlemen, that have taught the Hollanders to doe the like. Those would never stand upon a demurre who should give the first blow, when they see peace was onely but an empty name, and no sure league, but impuissance to doe hurt; found it better to buy peace by warre, than take it up at interest of those [who] could better guide penknives than use swords. And there is no misery worse than [to] be conducted by a foole, or commanded by a coward; for who can indure to be assaulted by any, see his men and selfe imbrued in their owne bloud, for feare of a checke, when it is so contrary to nature and necessity, and yet as obedient to government and their Soveraigne, as duty required.

Now your best plea is to stand upon your guard, and provide to defend as they did offend, especially at landing. If you be forced to retire, you have the advantage five for one in your retreat, wherein there is more discipline, than in a brave charge: and though it seeme lesse in fortune, it is as much in valour to defend as to get; but it is more easie to defend than assault, especially in woods where an enemy is ignorant.

Lastly, remember as faction, pride, and security, produces nothing but confusion, miserie, and dissolution; so the contraries well practised will in short time make you happy, and the most admired people of all our plantations for your time in the world.

John Smith writ this with his owne hand.

CAPTAIN SMITH'S WILL

*From Arber's edition of Captain John Smith's Works,
II, pp. 969-972.*

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S LAST WILL AND EPITAPH.

WE have printed the following from the original Will in the Will Office of the Prerogative Court at Somerset House, London. It is numbered St. John 89.

It would seem from the wording of this Will, as if our Author died in the house of Sir SAMUEL SALTONSTALL, in St. Sepulchre's parish.

The Will.

In the name of God Amen. The one and twentieth daie of June in the seaventh yeare of the reigne of our soveraigne lord Charles by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defendour of the faith &c.

I Captain John Smith of the parish of St. Sepulchers London Esquiour, being sicke in body, but of perfect mynde and memory, thanks be given vnto Allmightie God therefore, Revoking all former wills by me heretofore made, Doe make and ordeine this my last will and testament in manner following. First I commend my soule into the handes of Allmightie God my maker hoping through the merites of Christ Jesus my Redeemer to receave full remission of all my sinnes, and to inherit a place in the euerlasting kingdome. My body I committ to the earth from whence it came, to be interred according to the discrecion of myne Executours hereunder named. And of suche worldly goodes whereof it hath pleased God in his mercie to make me an vnworthie Receaver, I giue and bequeath them as hereafter followeth.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

First I give and bequeath vnto Thomas Packer Esquiour one of the Clerkes of His Maiesties Privy Seale, and to his heires for euer, all my houses landes tenementes and hereditamentes whatsoever scituate lyenge and being in the parishes of Lowthe and greate Carleton in the Countie of Lincolne together with my Coate of Armes. Item my Will and meaninge is, that in consideracion thereof the sayd Thomas Packer shall disburse and pay all such sommes of money and legacies as hereafter in this my Will are giuen bequeathed and reserued not exceeding the somme of fowerscore poundes of Lawfull mony of England, That is to saie: First I reserue vnto my self to be disposed as I shall thynke good in my life tyme, the somme of twentie poundes. Item he shall disburse about my funerall the somme of twentie poundes. Item I give and bequeath out of the residue of the fourscore poundes as followeth, viz^t I give and bequeath unto my much honored and most worthie friend Sir Samuel Saltonstall Knight the somme of fyve poundes. Item to Mistris Tredway the somme of fyve poundes. Item to my sister Smith the Widowe of my brother the somme of tenn poundes. Item to my cousin Steven Smith and his sister the somme [of] six poundes thirteene shillings and fower pence betweene them. Item to the said Thomas Packer, Joan his wife and Eleanour his Daughter the somme of Tenne poundes among them. Item to Master Reynoldes the Saymaster [Assay Master] of the Gouldsmiths Hall, the somme of fortie shillings. All which legacies my meaning and Will is shall be paid by the said Thomas Packer his heires executours or administratours within one yeare after my Decease.

Item, I give vnto Thomas Packer, sonne of the above sayd Thomas Packer, my trunck standing in my chamber at Sir Samuell Saltonstalls house in St. Sepulchers parish, together with my best suite of aparrell, of a tawney color, viz^t hose doublet ierkin and cloake.

CAPTAIN SMITH'S WILL

Item I give unto him my trunke bound with iron barres standing in the house of Richard Hinde in Lambeth, togeather with halfe the bookes therein, to be chosen by the said Thomas Packer and allowed by myne Executours; and the other halfe parte of the bookes I giue unto Master John Tredeskyn [?Tradescant] and the said Richard Hynde to be divided betweene them.

Item, I nominate apointe and ordeine my said much honored friend Sir Samuel Saltonstall and the said Thomas Packer the elder, ioynnt executours of this my last Will and testament.
the marke of the + sayd John Smithe.

Read acknowledged, sealed and deliuered by the said Captain John Smith to be his last Will and testament in the presence of us who have subscribed our names

per me WILLELMUM KEBLE Senior civitatis London,

WILLIAM PACKER

ELIZABETH SEWSTER

MARMADUKE WALKER, + his marke.

Wytnes.

Probate issued to Thomas Parker on 1 July, 1631.

The Epitaph.

Two years after our Author's death, appeared MUNDAY and DYSON's enlarged edition of Stow's Survey of London, 1633; in which, at p. 779, will be found the following Epitaph:¹

This Table is on the South side
of the Quire in Saint Sepulchers,
with this Inscription.

TO THE LIVING MEMORY OF HIS DECEASED FRIEND, CAPTAINE
JOHN SMITH, WHO DEPARTED THIS MORTALL
LIFE ON THE 21. DAY OF JUNE, 1631.

¹ St. Sepulchre's church, with the exception of the tower and south porch, was burned in the Great Fire of 1666. A brass plate, now affixed to the wall of the rebuilt church, contains a replica of the memorial verse. The original inscription, quoted by Dyson, reads as though it should have told somewhere the name of the friend who composed it. He was probably Sir Samuel Saltonstall.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

With his Armes, and this Motto,
ACCORDAMUS, VIVERE EST VINCERE.

Here lies one conquer'd that hath conquer'd Kings,
Subdu'd large Territories, and done things
Which to the World impossible would seeme,
But that the truth is held in more esteeme.

Shall I report his former service done
In honour of his God and Christendome :
How that he did divide from Pagans three,
Their Heads and Lives, Types of his Chivalry :
For which great service in that Climate done,
Brave Sigismundus (King of Hungarion)
Did give him as a Coat of Armes to weare,
Those conquer'd heads got by his Sword and Speare?

Or shall I tell of his adventures since,
Done in Virginia, that large Continençe :
How that he subdu'd Kings unto his yoke,
And made those Heathen flie, as wind doth smoke ;
And made their Land, being of so large a Station,
A habitation for our Christian Nation :
Where God is glorifi'd, their wants suppli'd,
Which else for necessaries might have di'd?

But what avails his Conquest, now he lyes
Inter'd in earth, a prey for Wormes and Flies?
O may his soule in sweet Elizium sleepe,
Vntill the Keeper that all soules doth keepe,
Returne to Judgement, and that after thence,
With Angels he may have his recompence.

CAPTAINE JOHN SMITH, SOMETIME GOVERNOUR
OF VIRGINIA, AND ADMIRALL OF
NEW ENGLAND.

APPENDIX A.

[Narrative of Phineas Pratt, one of Mr. Weston's colonists at Wessagussett (Weymouth) in 1622, whose flight to Plymouth in March, 1623, helped to save his fellow-settlers from impending massacre by the Indians. Pratt presented this narrative to the General Court of Massachusetts in 1662, and asked for assistance. Mr. Richard Frothingham, Jr., read parts of the story at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, March 26th, 1858, and it was printed in the same year in the fourth series of *Collections* of the Society, Vol. IV, pp. 476-487. Cf. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 1855-1858, p. 336. The manuscript originally consisted of three folio sheets, sewn together. The last half of these sheets has been torn off and lost. The remaining pages are torn at the edges and badly worn. The matter inserted in brackets in the text is conjecturally offered to supply what has been lost by obliteration.]

A DECLARATION OF THE AFFAIRES OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE [THAT FIRST] INHAB- ITED NEW ENGLAND.

IN the Time of Spirituall darkness, when the State Ecclesiastical of] Roome Ruled & ouer Ruled most of the Nations of Vrope, it plea[sed God] to giue wisdom to many, kings and people, in breaking that spirituall yo[ke] . . ; yet, not wthstanding, there Arose great strif Among such people that ar knowne by the name of prodastonce,¹ in many Cases Concerning the worship of God; but the greatest & strongest number of men Comonly p̃ualed Against the smaller and leser Number. At this time the honored States of Holland gave moore Liberty in Casses of Relidgon than could be injoyed in some other places. Upon wich diuers good Cristians Remoued the[ir] dwellings into the Low Cuntrys.

Then on Company that Dwelt in the Sitty of Laydon, being not well Able outwardly to subsist, tooke Counsell & Agred

¹ Protestants.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

to Remoue into Amerika, into some port Northward of Virginia. The Duch people ofored them diuers Condishons to suply them wth things Nesasary if thay would Liue vnder the Gouverment of thayr State, but thay Refused it. This thay did that all men might know the Intier Loue they bore to thayr King & Cuntry; for in them ther was never found any lack of Lifill¹ obedience. Thay sent to thayr ffreinds in Eingland to Let them Vnderstand what thay intended to doe. Then diuers ffr[iends] Disbursed some monys for the fferthering of soe good a work.

It is ff[urthermore] to be understod that, in the yeare of 1618, ther apeareed a blasing star ouer Garmany that maed the wiss men of Vrope astonished thayr[at].²

Spedily after, near about that time, these people begun to propoes Remouall. Thay Agred that thayr strongest & Ablest men should goe [first?] to provid for thayr Wiffs & children. Then Coming into Eingland, they sett fforward in to ships, but thayr Leser ship sprung a leak & reterned [to] Eingland; The bigger ship Ariued att Cape Codd, 1620, it being winter, then Caed new Eingland but formerly Caed Canidy. They sent forth thayr boat vpon discouery. Thayr boat being Reternd to theyr Shipp, thay Remoued into the bay of Plimoth & begun theyr planta[tion] by the Riuer of Pettuxet. Thayr Shipp being reterned & safly Arived in Eingland, those Gentlemen & Marchents, that had vndertaken to supply them wth things nesasary, vnderstanding that many of them weare sick & some ded, maed hast to send a ship wth many things nesasary; but som Indescret men, hoping to incoridg thayr friends to Come to them, writ Letters Conserving the great plenty of ffish fowle and deare, not considering that the wild Salvages

¹ Probably "Loyal" was intended.

² Nathaniel Morton, in "New Englands Memoriall," 23, relates this comet to the plague which killed nearly all the Indians on the coast of Massachusetts Bay, and which seems to have raged from 1616 to 1618, reappearing in different localities as late as 1623. Cf. Ford's *Bradford*, I, pp. 221-224, *notes*.

weare many times hungrye, that have a better scill to catch such things then Einglish men haue.² The Adventvrers, willing to saf thayr Monys, sent them weekly provided of vicktuals, as many moor after them did the lyke; & that was the great Cause of famine.

At the same time, Mr. Thomas Westorne, a Merchant of good credit in London, that was then thayr treshurer, that had disberst much of his Mony for the good of New Eingland, sent forth a ship for the settleing a plantation in the Massachusetts Bay, but wanting a pilote we Ariued att Damoralls Cove.² The men that belong to the ship, ther fishing, had newly set up a may pole & weare very mery. We maed hast to prepare a boat fit for costing. Then said Mr. Rodgers, Master of our ship, "heare ar Many ships & at Munhigin, but no man that does vndertake to be yor pilate; for they say that an Indian Caled Rumhigin vndertook to pilot a boat to Plimoth, but thay all lost thar Lives." Then said Mr. Gibbs, Mastrs Mate of our ship, "I will venter my Liue wth them." At this Time of our discouery, we first Ariued att Smithe's Ilands, first soe Caled by Capt. Smith, att the Time of his discouery of New Eingland [a]fterwards Caled Ilands of Sholes; ffrom thence to Cape Ann . . . so Caled by Capt Mason; from thence to the Mathechusits Bay. Ther we continued 4 or 5 days.

Then we p̄seaued, that on the south part of the Bay, weare fewest of the natives of the Cuntry Dwelling ther. We thought

¹ The natural result of the inevitable discrepancy between the language of public advertisement of a new enterprise and the language of description of actual daily discomforts in a new enterprise. Captain John Smith however asserted that famine in America must be the result of poor management.

² Damaris Cove, a group of small islands northwest of Monhegan. The ship was the *Sparrow*, and the time was May, 1622. There was little food at Plymouth then and Bradford feelingly records, "This boat brought 7 passengers and some letters, but no vitails, nor hope of any." The *Charity* and the *Swan*, with the rest of Mr. Weston's company, came to Plymouth about a month later. Cf. Ford's Bradford, I, 256-262, *passim*.

best to begin our plantation, but fearing A great Company of Salvages, we being but 10 men, thought it best to see if our friends weare Living at Plimoth. Then sayling Along the Cost, not knowing the harbor, thay shot of a peece of Ardinance, and at our coming Ashore, thay entertained vs wth 3 vally of shotts. Theyr seckond ship was Reterned for Eingland before we Came to them. We asked them wheare the Rest of our freinds weare that came in the first ship.¹ Thay said that God had taken them Away by deth, & that before thayr seckond ship came, thay weare soe destressed with sickness that thay, feareing the salvages should know it, had sett up thayr sick men with thayr muscits vpon thayr Rests & thayr backs Leaning Aganst trees. At this Time, on or two of them went wth vs in our vesill to the place of ffishing to bye vicktuals. 8 or 9 weeks after this, to of our ships Arived att Plimoth—the lesor of our 3 ships continued in the Cuntry with vs. Then we maed hast to settle our plantation in the Masachusetts Bay—our Number being neare sixty men. Att the same time ther was a great plag Among the salvagis, &, as them selfs told vs, half thayr people died thereof. The Nativs caled the place of our plantation Wesaguscasit.² Neare vnto it is a towne of Later Time Caled Weymoth.

The Salvagis seemed to be good freinds with vs while they feared vs, but when they see famin prevall, they begun to insult, as apeareth by the seaquell; for on of thayr Pennesses or Chef men, Caled Pexsouth,³ implied himself to Learne to speek Einglish, obsarving all things for his bloody ends. He told me he Loued Einglish men very well, but he Loued me best of all. Then he said, “you say ffrench men doe not loue you, but I will tell you what wee have don to them. Ther was

¹ *I.e.*, the *Mayflower*.

² The settlement was probably not completed before September, 1622. It was nearly opposite the mouth of the Quincy River. The submerged site is now part of King's Cove. Cf. Ford's *Bradford*, I, 272.

³ Pecksuot.

a ship broken by a storm. Thay saued most of theyr goods & hid it in the Ground. We maed them tell us whear it was. Then we maed them our servants. Thay weept much. When we parted them, we gaue them such meat as our dogs eate. On of them had a Booke he would ofen Reed in. We Asked him 'what his Booke said.' He answered, 'It saith, ther will a people, lick French men, come into this Cuntry and driue you all a way, & now we thincke you ar thay.' We took Away thayr Clothes. Thay liued but a little while. On of them Liued Longer than the Rest, for he had a good master and gaue him a wiff. He is now ded, but hath a sonn Alive.¹ An other Ship Came into the bay Wth much goods to Trucke. Then I said to the Sacham, I will tell you how you shall haue all for nothing. Bring all our Canows & all our Beauer & a great many men, but no bow nor Arow, Clubs, nor Hachits, but knives vnder the scins that [are] About our Lines.² Throw vp much Beauer vpon thayr Deck: sell it very Cheep & when I giue the word, thrust yor knives in the French mens Bellys. Thus we killed them all. But Mounsear Ffinch, Master of thayr ship, being wounded, Leped into the hold. We bidd him com vp, but he would not. Then we cutt thayr Cable & the ship went Ashore & lay vpon her sid & slept ther. Ffinch Came vp & we killed him. Then our Sachem devided thayr goods & ffered theyr Ship & it maed a very great fier." Som of our Company Asked them "how long it was Agow sinc thay first see ships? Thay said thay could not tell, but thay had heard men say The first ship that they see, seemed to be a floting Iland, as thay supposed broken of from the maine Land, wrapt together Wth the roats of Trees, with

¹ French ships were probably well known to the Indians along the coast as far south as Narragansett Bay. In 1619, Captain Dermer reported that he had that summer redeemed one Frenchmen at Namasket (the town of Middleborough, Mass.) and another at Massachusetts who had "three years since escaped ship-wracke at the Northeast of Cape Cod."

² The skins about our loins.

some trees upon it. Thay went to it with thayr Canows, but seeing men & hearing guns, they maed hast to be gon.

But after this, when thay saw ffamin prevale, Peckworth said, "why doe yor men & yor dogs dy?" I said, "I had Corn for a Time of need. Then I filed a Chest, but not with Corne & spred Corn on [and bade] him Com, opened the Couer and when I was shure he see it, I put dow[n the Cover] as if I would not haue him see it." Then he said "No Indian Soe [mean?] You haue much Corne & Einglish men dye for want." Then thay h[aving] intent to make warr thay Remoued some of thayr howses to th[e edge of] a great swamp neare to the pale of our plantation. After this yer[ly on] A morning I see a man goeing into on of thayr howses, weary with trafelling & Galded on his feet. Then I said to Mr. Salsbery, our Chirurgeon, shurly thayr Sacham hath implied him for som intent to make war vpon us. Then I took a Bagg wth gunpowder and putt it in my pockitt, Wth the Top of the bagg hanging out, & went to the house whear the man was laid vpon a matt. The woman of the howse took hold of the bagg, saying, what is this soe bigg? I said it is good for Salvages to eat, and strock hur on the Arm as hard as I could. Then she said, Matchet¹ powder, Einglish men, much Matchit. By and by Abordicis² bring Mouch Mans, Mouch Sannups, & kill you & all Einglish men att Wessaguscus & Patuckset. The man that lay upon the mats, seeing this, was Angry and in a great Rage, and the woman seemed to be sore afraid. Then I went out of the howse, and said to a young man that could best vnderstand thayr Langwig, goe Aske the woman, but not in the man's hearing, why the man was A[n]gry, & shee Afraid? Our interpreter, Coming to me, said "these are the words of the woman — The man will [tell] Abordicis what I said & he & all Indians will be angry with me. . . This Peexworth said, "I

¹ Matchet = bad, naughty.

² Abbadakest, sachem of the Massachusetts tribe.

love you." I said "I loue you." I said "I loue you as well as you Loue me." Then he said, in broken Einglish, "me heare you can make the Lickness of men & of women, dogs & dears, in wood & stone. Can you make [mine?]" I said, "I can see a knife in yor hand, Wth an Ill favored ffase upon the haft." Then he gave it into my hand to see his workamship, & said, this knife cannot see, it Can not heare, it Can not speke, but by & by it can eat. I haue Another knife at home Wth a fase upon the haft as lick a man as this is lick a woman. That knife Can not see, it Can not heare, it Can not speke, but it can eat. It hath killed much ffrench men, & by & by this knife & that knife shall mary & you shall be thear. [That] knife at home he had kep for a moniment, from the time they had killed Mounsear Ffinch;" but as the word went out of his mouth, I had a good will to thrust it in his belly. He said "I see you ar much angry." I said, "Guns ar Longer then knivs."

Som time after this thar Sachem Cam sudingly upon us wth a great numbor of Armed men; but thayr spys seeing us in a Redines, he & some of his Chif men, terned into on of thayr howses a quartor of An our. Then wee met them without the pale of our plantation & brought them in. Then said I to a yong man that could best speke thayr Langwig, "Aske Pexworth whi thay com thus Armed." He Answered, "our Sacham is angry wth you." I said, "Tell him if he be Angry wth us, wee be Angry wth him." Then said thayr Sachem, "Einglish men, when you Com into the Cuntry, we gave you gifts and you gaue vs gifts; we bought and sold wth you and we weare freinds; and now tell me if I or any of my men have don you Rong." We answered, "First tell us if we have don you Any Rong." He answered, "Some of you steele our Corne & I have sent you word times without number & yet our Corne is stole. I come to see what you will doe." We answered, "It is on man wich hath don it. Yor men have

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

seen vs whip him divers times, besides other manor of punishments, & now heare he is Bound. We give him vnto you to doe Wth him what you please." He answered, "That is not just dealeing. If my men wrong my nabur sacham, or his men, he sends me word & I beat or kill my men, according to the ofenc. If his men wrong me or my men, I send him word & he beats or kills his men Acording to the ofence. All Sachams do Justis by thayr own men. If not we say they ar all Agreed & then we fite, & now I say you all steele my Corne."

At this Time, som of them, seeing som of our men upon our forte, begun to start, saying, "Machit Pesconk," that is nawty Guns. Then Looking Round about them went a way in a great Rage. Att this Time we strenthened our wach untell we had no ffood left. In thes times the Salvagis ofentime did Crep upon the snow, starting behind Boushes & trees to see whether we kepe wach or not. [Oft] times I haveing Rounded our plantation untell I had no longer [stre]nth; then in the night, goeing into our Corte of Gard, I see on man ded before me & Another at my writ hand & Another att my left for want of food. O all Ye people in New Eingland that shall heare of these times of our week beginning, Consider what was the strenth of the Arm of flesh or the witt of man; therefor in the times of yor greatest distress put your trust in God.

The ofendor being bound, we lett him louse, because we had no food to give him, Charging him to gather Ground Nutts, Clams, & Musells, as other men did, & steel no more. On or two days after this, the salvagis brot him, leading him by the armes, saying "Heare is the Corne. Com see the plase wheare he stole it." Then we kep him bound som few days.¹ After this, to of our Company said "we have bin

¹ As a matter of fact he was hung in the presence of the Indians in order to convince the latter that justice would be done. After the execution the whites attacked the Indians, who fled.

PRATT'S NARRATIVE

In this winter of 1622-1623 the men of Plymouth were also hard pushed to find food. They made two expeditions about 50 miles down the Cape, and with the greatest difficulty obtained "about 26 or 28 hogshead of corne and beans which was more then the Indeans could well spare." John Sanders, the governor at Wessagussett, asked advice from Plymouth about taking corn from the Indians by force and was strongly dissuaded from such violence. Sanders set sail in February for Monhegan where he hoped to buy food from the fishing fleet. Plymouth provisioned his ship. Bradford says that some of the Wessagussett colonists were so base as to tell the Indians that Governor Sanders intended to take their corn by force.

Bradford's description of conditions at Wessagussett after Sanders' departure adds something even to Pratt's narrative. "It may be thought strange that these people should fall to these extremities in so short a time, being left competently provided when the ship left them, and had an addition by that moyetie of corn that was got by trade, besides much they gott of the Indeans wher they lived, by one means and another. It must needs be their great disorder, for they spent excesseivly whilst they had, or could get it; and, it may be, wasted parte away among the Indeans (for he that was their cheef was taxed by some amongst them for keeping Indean women, how truly I know not). And after they begane to come into want, many sould away their cloathes and bed coverings; others (so base were they) became servants to the Indeans, and would cutt them woode and fetch them water, for a cap full of corne; others fell to plaine stealing, both night and day, from the Indeans, of which they greevosly complained. In the end they came to that misery, that some starved and dyed with could and hunger. One in geathering shell-fish was so weake as he stuck fast in the mudd, and was found dead in the place. At last most of them left their dwellings and scatered up and down in the woods, and by the water sides, wher they could find ground nuts and clames, hear 6 and ther ten. By which their cariages they became contemned and scorned of the Indeans, and they begane greatly to insulte over them in a most insolente maner; insomuch, many times as they lay thus scatered abroad, and had set on a pot with ground-nuts or shell-fish, when it was ready the Indeans would come and eate it up; and when night came, whereas some of them had a sorie blanket, or shuch like, to lappe themselves in, the Indeans would take it and let the other lye all nighte in the coulede; so as their condition was very lamentable." Ford's Bradford, I, 284-291, and *notes*.

Increase Mather, in "A Relation of the Troubles which have happened in New-England, By reason of the Indians there. From the year 1614 to the year 1675," summarized the story of Pratt's narrative, and was more explicit about the fate of the Englishman who stole the Indians' corn. His words are: "The English now perceiving that the Indians were fully purposed to be revenged on them, they resolved to fight it out to the last man. As they were marching out of the Fort, seven or eight men stood stil, saying, this is the second time that the Salvages had demanded the life of him that had wronged them, and therefore they would have him first put to death, and if that would not satisfy, then fight it out to the last, wherefore he was put to death in the sight of the Heathen; after which the English marched out towards them, but they dispersed themselves into the woods." 4 Mass. Histor. Soc. Coll. IV, 491.

at the Sachem's howse & thay have near finished thayr last Canoe that thay may incounter wth our ship. Thayr greatest Care is how to send thayr Army's to Plimouth because of the snow. Then we prepared to meet them there. On of our Company said "they have killed on of our hogs." An other said, "on of them striked at me Wth his knife;" & others say "they threw dust in our fases." Then said Pexworth to me, "give me powder & Gunns & I will give you much corne." I said, "by & by men bring ships & vittls." But when we understod that their plot was to kill all Einglish people in on day when the snow was gon, I would have sent a man to Plimoth, but non weare willing to goe. Then I said if Plimoth men know not of this Trecherous plot, they & we are all ded men; Therefore if God willing, to morrow I will goe. That night a yong man, wanting witt, towld Pexworth yearly in the morning. Pexworth came to me & said in Einglish, "Me heare you goe to Patuxit; you will loose yor self; the bears and the wolfs will eate you; but because I Love you I will send my boy Nahamit with you; & I will give you vicktuals to eat by the way & to be mery Wth Yor freinds when you Com there." I said; "Who towld you soe great a Lye that I may kill him." He said, "it is noe lye, you shall not know." Then he went whom to his howse. Then Came 5 men Armed. We said, "Why Com you thus Armed." They said, "we are ffreinds; you cary Guns wheare we dwell & we cary bowe & Arows wheare you dwell." Thes Atended me 7 or 8 days & nights. Then thay supposeing it was a lye, wheare Carlis of thayr wach¹ near two ours in the morning. Then said I to our Company, "now is the Time to Run to Plimoth. Is ther any Compas to be found." Thay said, "non but them that belong to the ship." I said "they are to Bigg. I have born no armes of Defence this 7 or 8 days. Now if I take my armes thay will mistrust me." Then thay said, "The salvages

¹ "were careless of their watch."

PRATT'S NARRATIVE

will p̄shue after you & kill you & we shall never see you Agayne." Thus wth other words of great Lamentation, we parted. Then I took a how¹ & went to the Long Swamp neare by thayr howses & diged on the ege thereof as if I had bin looking for ground nutts, but seeing no man I went in & Run through it.² Then looking Round a bout me, I Run Southward tell 3 of the Clock, but the snow being in many places, I was the more distresed becaus of my ffoot steps. The sonn being beclouded, I wandered, not knowing my way; but att the Goeing down of the sonn, it apeared Red; then hearing a great howling of wolfs, I came to a River; the water being depe & cold & many Rocks, I pased through Wth much adoe. Then was I in great distres—ffant for want of food, weary with Running, ffearing to make a ffer because of them that p̄shued³ me. Then I came to a depe dell or hole, ther being much wood falen into it. Then I said in my thoughts, this is God's providence that heare I may make a fier. Then haveing maed a fier, the stars began to apear and I saw Ursa Magor & the . . . pole⁴ yet fearing [because?] beclouded. The day following I began to trafell [early?] but being unable, I went back to the fier the day⁵ ffall[owing the] sonn shined & about three of the clock I came to that part [of] Plimoth bay wher ther is a Town of Later Time [called] Duxbery. Then passing by the water on my left hand [I] cam to a brock & ther was a path. Haveing but a short Time to Consider [and] ffearing to goe beyond the plantation, I kept Running in the path; then passing through James Ryuer I said in my thoughts, now am I as a deare Chased [by] the

¹ A hoe.

² It was a day in the latter part of March, 1623, probably the 23d. He is said to have reached Plymouth on the 24th. 4 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV, 474.

³ Pursued.

⁴ North Pole (?), meaning the North Star.

⁵ This probably means later in the same day. Increase Mather says that Pratt lost his way, and that on that account the Indians who were following him failed to catch him. Cf. 4 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV, 491.

wolfs. If I perish, what will be the Condish[ion] of distressed Einglish men. Then finding a peec of a [staff?] I took it up & Caried it in my hand. Then finding a [part?] of a Jurkin,¹ I Caried them under my arme. Then said I in my [heart] God hath giuen me these two tokens for my Comfort; that now he will giue me my live for a pray[r]. Then Running down a hill I [saw] an Einglish man Coming in the path before me. Then I sat down on a tree & Rising up to salute him said, "Mr. Hamdin,² I am Glad to see you aliuie." He said "I am Glad & full of wonder to see you aliuie; lett us sitt downe, I see you are weary." I said, "Let [us] eate som parched corne." Then he said "I know the Caus [why you] Come. Masasoit hath sent word to the Gouvernor to let him [know] that Aberdikees & his Confederates having contriued a plot hoping [to kill] all Einglish people in on day; heare as men hard by [ma]king Canoe [you] stay & we will goe wth you. The next day a yong [man] named Hugh Stacey went forth to fell a tree & see two [Indians] rising from the Ground. They said Aberdikees had sent [them to] the Gouvernor that he might send men to trucke for much Beauer, but thay would not goe, but said, "Was not ther an Einglish [man] Come from Wesaguscus." He Answered "he came" . . . Thay said he was thayr ffreind, and said come and see who . . . But they Terned another way. He said, "You come to let vs . . ." Providence to vs was great in those times as apareth [in this, that] after the time of the Ariuall of the first ship at pl[ymouth the] fornamed Masasoit Came to Plimoth & thayr maed a co[venant of] peace, for an Indian Caled Tisquantom Came to them & spek Einglish . . . Thay Asked him, how he

¹ Jerkin, a coat.

² Mr. John Hamden, "a gentleman of London," who had been with Mr. Winslow and Hobbamock, the Indian guide, to visit Massasoit. They had cured him of an illness, and had just returned, bearing the news which the sachem had in gratitude given them, that the Massachusetts tribe and the Indians of the Cape were in league to destroy all the English in both colonies.

learned to speeke Einglish? He said that An Einglishman Caled Capt Hunt Came into the Harbor pretending to trade for beaver & stoole 24 men & thayr beavr & Caried & Sould them in Spaine. & from thence wth much adoe he went into Eingland & ffrom Eingland wth much adoe he gott into h[is] owne Cuntry. This man tould Masasoit what wonders he had seen in Eingland & that if he Could make Einglish his ffriends then [the] Enemies that weare to strong for him would be Constrained to bowe to him; but being prevented by some that Came in the first ship that [have] Recorded that wich Conserved them I leave it.

Two or 3 days after my Coming to Plimoth, 10 or 11 men went in a boat to Or plantation,¹ but I being fanted was not able to goe Wth them. They first gave warning to the master of the ship² & then Contrived how to make sure of the Liues of to of thayr Cheef men, Wittiwomitt, of whom they bosted no Gun would kill, and Pexworth, a suttle man. These being slaine they fell upon others wheare thay could find them. Then Abordikees, hearing that some of his men weare killed, Came to try his manwhod, but as they weare starting behind bushes & trees, on of them was shott in the Arme.³ At this time an Indian caled Hobermack, that formerly had fled for his liue from his Sacham to Plimoth, aproued himself a valiant man in fiting & pshuing after them. Two of our men were killed that thay took in thayr howses att An Advantage. [At]

¹ Winslow, in "Good Newes from New England," 37-45, tells the story fully. Captain Miles Standish was the leader of the little party of eight men that went to Wessagussett.

² The *Swan*.

³ This was a Powaw, one of the leaders of the conspiracy. Bradford wrote, "We kild seven of the cheife of them, and the head of one of them stands still on our forte for a terror unto others; they mett our men in the feild and shoat at them, but thank be to God not a man of them were hurte; neither could they hurte the Indeans with their peices, they did so shilter themselves behind great trees, only they brake the arm of a notable rogue as he was drawing his bow to shoot at Capten Standish, after which they came away." Cf. Bradford's letter of September 8, 1623, in "Am. Histor. Review," VIII, 295.

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this Time pl[ymouth men] weare instruments in the [ha]nds of God for [saving] thayr own liues and ours. Thay tooke the head of [Wituwamat] & sett it on thayr ffort att Plimoth att . . . 9 of our men weare ded Wth ffamine and on died in the ship before thay Came to the place whear at that Time of yeare ships Came to ffish—it being in March. At this Time ships began to ffish at the Islands of Sholes and I haveing Recovered a Little of my [streng]th went to my Company; near about this Time [began] the first plantation att Pascataqua the [chief] thereof was Mr. David Tomson¹ at the time of my arrivall att Pascataqua. To of Abordikees men Came thither & seeing me said, “when we killed yor men thay cried and maed Il fauored ffases.” I said, “when we killed yor men, we did not Torment them to make ourself mery.” Then we went with our ship into the bay² & took from them two Shalops Loading of Corne & of thayr men prisoners ther as [at?] a Towne of Later Time Caled Dorchester. The third and last time was in the bay of Agawam. At this time they took for thayr casell a thick swamp. At this time on of our ablest men was shot in the

¹ David Thomson, a resident of Plymouth, England, was by birth a Scotchman, but had been a messenger for the Council for New England and closely associated with Sir Ferdinando Gorges. In November, 1622, Mr. Thomson received from the Council a grant of 6000 acres of land and an island in New England. With the help of three Plymouth merchants he came to America in 1623 at the head of a small company, and settled near the mouth of the Piscataqua River and on the west side of it. The place was later known as Rendezvous Point, and is now called Odiorne's Point. Thomson's plantation was so far completed in the summer of 1623 that Captain Christopher Levett spent some weeks there, and Captain and Governor-General Robert Gorges came there to meet him and others of his council. In 1624 Mr. Thomson and Mr. Weston were both trying to get a patent for Cape Ann, and were anticipated by the officers of the Plymouth Colony. Mr. Thomson was friendly with his Plymouth neighbors, despite the fact that they were in some degree rivals. In 1623 he made a trip to the eastward with Captain Standish, and in 1626 he was a companion and competitor with Bradford and Winslow at Monhegan. He died soon after his removal to his island in Boston Harbor, long known by his name but now called “Farm School Island.” See Appendix B in this volume for Thomson's contract with the Plymouth merchants. Cf. Ford's Bradford, I, 340, *note, et passim*.

² *I. e.*, Massachusetts Bay, a voyage by the survivors of the Weston colony, doubtless with some of the fishermen, for purposes of reprisal and vengeance.

sholder. Wether Any of them wear killed or wounded we could not tell. Ther is a Town of Later time, neare vnto that place Caled Ipswich. Thus [our] plantation being deserted, Capt. Robert Gore¹ cam [into] the Cuntry Wth six gentlemen Atending him & diuers men to doe his Labor & other men wth thayr familys. Thay took possession of our plantation, but thayr ship suply from Eingland Came to late. Thus was ffamine thayr final oforthrow. Most of them that liued Reterned for Eingland. The oforseers of the third plantation in the bay was Capt. Wooliston & Mr. Rosdell.² Thes seeing the Ruing of the former plantation, said, we will not pich our Tents heare, least we should do as thay have Done. Notwithstanding these Gentlemen wear wiss men, thay seemed to blame the oforseers of the formur Companies not Considering that God plants & pulls vp, Bilds & pulls down & terns the wisdom of wiss men into foolishness. These Caled the name of thayr place Mountwooliston. They Continued neare a yeare as others had don before them; but famin was thayr finall oforthrow.³ Neare vnto that place is a Towne of Lator Time

¹ Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando, reached Plymouth in September, 1623, and returned to England after a few months. While he had a large grant of land, a commission as Governor-General from the Council for New England, and the purpose of establishing episcopacy in New England, it seems probable that his hope was to enrich himself by attacking the Spaniards. He was not driven back by famine. Cf. Ford's *Bradford*, I, 327, 336-7.

² They came in 1625. There were people living in the Weston buildings at Wessagussett, so Wollaston settled about two miles north at the place still known by his name. Wollaston and Rashdall soon went to Virginia, and the leadership of those who remained fell to Thomas Morton, hero of the "Merry-mount" episode, author of the "New English Canaan," and thorn in the side of both the Massachusetts colonies.

³ This was not so. Morton was arrested and sent to England in 1628 because his neighbors didn't like his behavior, and especially charged him with selling fire-arms and ammunition to Indians. All the other English settlers around the coast of the Bay contributed to bear the expense of suppressing Morton. Plymouth gave £2. 10; Roger Conant and the Salem settlers gave £1. 10; Piscataqua settlers (Portsmouth, N. H.) gave £2. 10; the Wessagussett people (Mr. Jeffrey and Mr. Burslem) gave £2.; Hull settlers (John Oldham) £1. 10; Mrs. Thomson, widow of David Thomson, now living on Thomson's Island in the harbor at

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Caled Brantry.¹ Not long after the oferthrow of the first plantation in the bay, Capt. Louit² Cam to ther Cuntry. At the Time of his being at Pascataway a Sacham or Sagamor Gaue two of his men, on to Capt. Louit & An other to Mr. Tomson, but on that was ther said, "How can you trust these Salvagis. Cale the nam of on Watt Tylor, & the other Jack Straw, after the names of the two greatest Rebills that ever weare in Eingland." Watt Tylor said "when he was a boy Capt. Dormer found him upon an Island in great distress."

Here ends the Narrative of Phinehas Pratt.

Governor Bradford's epitaph upon Mr. Weston's colony at Wessagussett may be read with Phinehas Pratt's narrative:

"This was the end of these that some time bosted of their strength, (being all able, lustie men,) and what they would doe and bring to pass, in comparison of the people hear, who had many women and children and weak ones among them; and

Shawmut (Boston), gave £0. 15; Rev. Mr. Blackstone at Shawmut contributed 12 s.; and Edward Hilton from Dover sent £1. It is remarkable that Portsmouth should be able to pay as much as Plymouth. Captain Standish was sent to take Morton. Bradford's story is as follows: "They found him to stand stifly in his defence, having made fast his dors, armed his consorts, set diverse dishes of powder and bullets ready on the table; and if they had not been over armed with drinke, more hurt might have been done. They summoned him to yeeld, but he kept his house, and they could gett nothing but scofes and scorns from him; but at length, fearing they would doe some violence to the house, he and some of his crue came out, but not yeeld, but to shoote; but they were so steeld with drinke as their peeces were to heavie for them; him selfe with a carbine (over charged and allmost halfe fild with powder and shote, as was after found) had thought to have shot Captaine Standish; but he stept to him, and put by his peece, and tooke him. Neither was ther any hurte done to any of either side, save that one was so drunke that he rane his owne nose upon the pointe of a sword that one held before him as he entred the house; but he lost but a little of his hott blood." Cf. Ford's Bradford, II, 56, 57; also *supra*, pp. 594-598.

¹ Braintree.

² Captain Christopher Levett.

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said at their first arrivall, when they saw the wants hear, that they would take another course, and not fall into shuch a condition, as this simple people were come too. But a mans way is not in his owne power; God can make the weake to stand; let him also that standeth take heed least he fall."¹

Phinehas Pratt returned to Plymouth and in 1630 married a daughter of Cuthbert Cuthbertson. Later he married Mary Priest, a niece of Mr. Allerton. His name occurs in the Plymouth records as freeman, rate-payer, and grantee of lands, and he followed the trade of "a joiner." In 1640 he was among the friends of Rev. Charles Chauncey.² In 1648 he purchased a home in Charlestown, Mass. After the presentation of his narrative to the General Court of Massachusetts in 1662, that body voted to aid him, as is shown in the following record, under date of May 7, 1662:

"In answer to the petition of Phinehas Pratt, of Charlestown, who presented this Court with a narrative of the straits and hardships that the first planters of this Colony underwent, in their endeavors to plant themselves at Plymouth and since, whereof he was one, the Court judge it meet to grant him three hundred acres of land, where it is to be had, not hindering a plantation."

He received the land "in the wilderness, on the East of Merrimack River, near the upper end of Nacooke Brooke."

Six years later he was again a supplicant for help. His petition, probably prepared for him by some friend was as follows:

¹ Ford's Bradford, I, 297.

² *Ibid.*, II, 303, note.

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*To the Honoured the Generall Court, holden at Boston, this —
day of Oct. 1668.*

I acknowledg myself truly thankfull unto the Honoured Court for that they gave me at the time I presented an History called, A declaration of the affaires of the English people, that first inhabited New England. Yet my necessity causeth me farther to entreat you to consider what my service hath been unto my dread Sovereign Lord King James of famous memory. I am one of that little number, ten men that arrived in Massachusetts Bay for the setling of a Plantation, & am the remainder of the forlorn hope sixty men. We bought the south part of the Bay of Aberdecest their Sachem. Ten of our company died of famine. Then said the Natives of the Countrey, let us kill them, whilst they are weak, or they will possesse our Countrey, & drive us away. Three times we fought with them, thirty miles I was pursued for my life, in time of frost, and snow, as a deer chased with wolves. Two of our men were kill'd in warr, one shot in the shoulder. It was not by the wit of man, nor by the strength of the arme of flesh, that we prevailed against them. But God, that over rules all power, put fear in their hearts.

And now seeing God hath added a New England to old Engl. and given both to our dread Sover^s Lord King Charles the second, many thousand people enjoy the peace thereof:

Now in times of prosperity, I beseech you consider the day of small things; for I was almost frozen in time of our weak beginnings and now am lame. My humble request is for that may be for my subsistance, the remaining time of my life. And I shall be obliged.

Your thankfull servant

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The petition was denied in both houses of the General Court, and the old man's needs were evidently referred to the local authorities where he dwelt. The Charlestown records, January 25, 1669, contain this item: "Ordered constable Jno. Hayman to supply Phineas Pratt with so much as his present low condition may require."

Pratt's will (Jan. 8, 1677) bequeathes to his wife Mary and son Joseph property valued at £40. 16s. He died in Charlestown, April 19, 1680.¹ His memorial stone in the Old Burying Ground bears this inscription:

Fugit Hora.

HERE LIES THE BODY OF PHINEHAS
PRA^T^T AG^D ABOU^T 90 Y^{RS} DEC^D APRIL
TH^E 19, 1 6 80.
& WAS ON OF THE FIRST^T ENGLISH
INHABI^TANTS OF THE MASSACHUSE^TS COLONY.

¹ 4 Mass Histor. Soc. Coll., IV, 475-6, 487-8.

APPENDIX B.

CONTRACT FOR THE TRANSPORTATION OF DAVID THOMSON¹ AND SEVEN OTHER COL- ONISTS TO AMERICA IN 1622.

MR. CHARLES DEANE printed this contract and the accompanying explanations in Volume XIV of the Mass. Histor. Soc. *Proceedings* (1875-1876), pp. 358-360:

Some two or three years ago, the President of this Society, Mr. Winthrop, placed in my hands an old parchment deed,—discovered among his rich ancestral treasures of a like character,—which he said contained the name, among others, of David Thomson. I found it, on examination, to be an indenture, dated 14th December, 1622, between David Thomson, of Plymouth, of the one part, and three merchants,—viz., Abraham Colmer, Nicholas Sherwill, and Leonard Pomery (Pomeroy), also of Plymouth,—of the other part. This parchment, 17 by 20 inches in size, was that part of the indenture which contained the covenants and signatures of the three merchants just named. An exact copy of the document is given below.

ARTICLES of Covenannts Indentid made and agreed on; the foureteenth daye of December, in the twentieth yeare of the Raigne of our Souëigne Lord James by the grace of god of England Fraunce and Ireland King, Defender of the faith, &c. And of Scotland the Sixe and fiftieth, Betweene Dauid Thomson of Plymouth in the County of devon, gentleman, of thone parte, And Abraham Colmer Nicholas Sberwill, and Leonard Pomery of Plymouth, aforesaid marchants of th' other parte.

IMPRIMIS, whereas the Councell established, by the said Kings Ma^{ties} L^{res} ² patents, for the ruling, orderinge & dis-

¹ Mr. Thomson became the leading settler at Piscataqua (Portsmouth, N.H.), and later inhabited an island in Boston Harbor.

² Letters.

DAVID THOMSON'S INDENTURE

posing of the terrytories and affayres of Newe England in America, haue graunted vnto thaboue named Daud Thomson, his heires and assignes, for ever, Sixe Thousand acres of land, and one Iland lyeing & being in & vpon the coaste of Newe England aforesaid, wth dyuers Royalties, ymmunities priueledges franchises and liberties, As by the same graunt, bearinge date the Sixteenth daye of October laste paste more at large, it dothe & maye appeare, And farther whereas also the said Daud Thomson by his deed Indentid beareing date wth these p^rsents hath freely and absolutely graunted the foureth parte of all the said Iland wth thapp^{ur}teññcs therevnto belonging or in any wise apperteyninge, unto thaboue named Abraham Colmer Nicholas Sherwill and Leonard Pomery their heires & assignes forever, wth Covenannte also therein expressed, to grannte and convey, vnto them their heires and assignes in ffee simple, the foureth parte of the before recyted Sixe thousand acres of land and other the premysses wth thapp^{ur}teññcs, As by the said deed thereof Indentid to them made more plainly and at large it doth & maye appeare. In Consideracon whereof it is fullie couenanted & agreed by and betweene the said parties to these presents in manner and forme followinge, that is to saie “

First, that they the said Abraham Colmer Nicholas Sherwill, and Leonard Pomerie their heires and assignes, shall and will at their owne proper costes and charges, this present yeare provid and send, two men, with the said Daud Thomson, in the good shipp called the Jonathan of Plymouth aforesaid (by gods permission) to be landed in Newe England aforesaid, wth soe muche victualls & prouisions as shall suffice them, till they be their landed, And yf they land there, within the space of three moneths, after the said shipp shall passe Ramehed,¹ The residue of the three moneths victualls (yf any be) shall be delyuered to the said Daud Thomson, at his landing there,

¹ Ram Head, a promontory just outside of Plymouth Sound.

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the said men and victualls, there to be disposed of, by the said Dauid Thomson, as well towards the findinge of a fitt place for thintended plantacōn there, as also to begin the same “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “

Item, that they, the said Dauid Thomson, Abraham Colmer, Nicholas Sherwill, & Leonard Pomerie, their heires and assignes, shall and will this present yeare, at their owne proper costes & charge, find prouide and send, three men more, in the good ship called the Prouidence of Plymouth aforesaid, yf they maye be so soone gotten, Or in some other shipp, wth the first expedicōn that maye be, To be also (by god his permyssion) landed in Newe England, their to be disposed of as aforesaid, the Charges of w^{ch} men lastlie mencōed are to be paid and borne equallie betweene them the said parties to theis p^rsents “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “

Item, it is farther agreed by and betweene the said parties to theis p^rnts,¹ that two men more (ouer & aboue the former three) shal be this p^rsent yeare, prouided & sent, in the foresaid shipp the Jonathan; wth their victualls and prouisions, To be likewise (by gods permyssion) landed in Newe England aforesaid, the charge of w^{ch} two men lastlie mencōed soe to be sent, shalbe equallie borne and paid, betweene the said Dauid Thomson, Abraham Colmer, Nicholas Sherwill, and Leonard Pomerie “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “

Item, it is farther agreed by and betweene the said parties to theis p^rnts, that after suche tyme, as the said Dauid Thomson, And the foresaid Seaven men or any of them, shalbe soe landed in Newe England as aforesaid The said persons soe landed, shall and will vse their best Endeavor, (by the dirreccōn of the said Dauid Thomson) wth as muche conuenience as maye be, to find oute some fitt place or places there, for the choise of the said Sixe thousand acres of land accordinge to th'intent of the graunt aforesaid; And also of some fitt place,

¹ Presents.

DAVID THOMSON'S INDENTURE

to settle and Builde some house or buildings for habitacons, On w^{ch} they are to begyn, wth as muche expedicōn as they maye, To the lymits and precincts of w^{ch} habitacons or buildings soe intended to be there erected, there shalbe allotted, of the landes next thereunto adioyninge, at or before thend of five yeares, next ensuing the date hereof, the full quantitie of Sixe hundred acres of land, or neere thereabouts, W^{ch} said Sixe hundred acres of land, wth all and singular the tenem^{ts} and buildings, that maye be raised thereupon, duringe the said space of five yeares, together wth the Seas, Riuers harbor or harbors ports creeks and all and singeler other the premysses whatsoeū, conteyned wthin the said sixe hundred acres of land, wththe seas Anent the same, shall at thend & expiracōn of the said five yeares, Be equallie diuided, betweene them the said Daud Thomson, Abraham Colmer, Nicholas Sherwill and Leonard Pomery by lotts, And that all costs chargs and disbursments whatsoeuer, to be paid & layde forth, from and after the landing of the said men or any of them in Newe England aforesaid, towards the finding oute of the said sixe thousand acres of land, or for the buildinge planting and husbanding, of the said sixe hundred acres of land, shall During the said five yeares be equallie borne and paid, betweene all the said parties to theis p^rsents The residue of the said Sixe thousand acres of land, to be also in such convenient tyme as maye be Deuided betweene them the said parties in foure parts, and by lots as aforesaid, wth all the seas & Riuers Anent the same, and all other the premysses to the same belonging, Whereof the said Daud Thomson his heires and assignes, are to haue three Quarters, And the said Abraham Colmer Nicholas Sherwill & Leonard Pomerie, their heires & assignes, One quarter accordinge to the true intent & meaning of the last before recyted graunt, to them thereof to be made by the said Daud Thomson his heires & assignes “ “ “ “

Item, it is farther agreed, by and betweene the said parties

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to theis p^rsents, that the said Iland, wth the grounde soyles, Hauens, Rivers ports, Creeks, wth th app^{ur}teññcs therevnto belonging at thend of the said five yeares, shall alsoe be Devided amongste them, the said parties in foure partes, by lotts as aforesaid, Whereof the said Dauid Thomson his heires & assignes are to haue three of the said foure partes, And the said Abraham Colmer, Nicholas Sherwill and Leonard Pomerie, their heires and assignes, thother foureth parte, accordinge to the true intent & meaninge, of the laste before recyted graunt thereof to them made “ “ “ “ “ “

Item, farther it is fully couenanted & agreed by and betweene the said parties to theis pnts, That all costes, charges, expenses, and disbursm^{ts} whatsoeũ w^{ch} shall happen to be expended laid forth or disburssed for and towards the planting & husbanding of the said Iland wth thapp^{ur}teññcs, And for and towards the Erecting of habitacõns or buildings there vntill the same be divided as aforesaid, shalbe borne and paid betweene the said parties, in this sorte (viz), three partes, by the said Dauid Thomson, his heires and assignes, and the other foureth parte, by the said Abraham Colmer, Nicholas Sherwill & Leonard Pomerie their heires and assignes “ “ “

ITEM, it is farther agreed by and betweene the said parties to theise p^rsents, that all benefitts and profitts whatsoever, that shall or maye, duringe the said terme of five yeares happen to accrewe arise & growe oute of or upon, the said sixe hundred acres of land, be it more or lesse, and of the Seas and Rivers therevnto belonging, or by trading, fishing, Setting & Setling of the same landes & tenements, or any parte of them, or by any other industrie waies or meanes whatsoever (the fishing of such shipp or shipps of the said Abraham Colmer Nicholas Sherwill & Leonard Pomerie, or of either or any of them, or of either or any of their assignes, sett forth onely at their costs and charges, and wherein the said Dauid Thomson, doth not, or will not, put in his parte of the costs and charges,

DAVID THOMSON'S INDENTURE

onely excepted & foreprised,) shall also be equallie divided betweene them the parties to these presents parte and parte like “

Item, it is also agreed by and betweene the said parties to theis p^rsents, that all benefitts and profits, that shall or maye, duringe the said terme of five yeares, happen to accrewe aryse and growe, oute of or upon, the residue of the said, sixe thousand acres of land w^h app^{ur}teññcs, or oute of, or upon the said Iland wth thapp^{ur}teññcs shalbe devided into foure parts Whereof the said Dauid Thomson his heires and assignes shall haue three partes, And the said Abraham Colmer Nicholas Sherwill, and Leonard Pomery their heires & assignes shall haue th’ other foureth parte, And that every of them, shall and will vpon reasonable request, delyuer to th’other a iuste & perfect accompt of his receipts & payments concerning the premisses And for the true performance of all and singuler, the said covenannts and agreements, either of the said parties bindeth himself to th’other firmly by these presents “ “ “

In Wittnes Wheareof the said parties interchangable, to theis p^rsent coven^añts Indented, their handes and seales haue sett, Yeoven¹ the daye and yeare ffirst aboue wrytten ANNOQ DM.² 1622

p me [Abraham] Colmer p me Nicholas Sherwill Leonard Pomery

[Endorsed]

Sealed and delyuered in p^rsents of

John ffowell

Teste me Tho. Cruse

Teste Hugoe Bull

Michael Herring

¹ This word is Old English, and is equivalent to the word “Given.” See Murray’s New English Dictionary under the word “give.”

² Annoque Domini = and in the yeare of our Lord.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

The three merchants named in this covenant are persons well known in the history of Plymouth, in England.

Abraham Colmer (or Colman) was Mayor of that town in 1615 and in 1627, and Alderman in 1626. Nicholas Sherwell was Mayor in 1618, 1628, and 1637. In 1625, "Thomas and Nicholas Sherwell erected, founded, and established the Hospitall of Orphans' Aid" in that city. Leonard Pomery was a member of the Council in 1612, and Mayor in 1623. On the 22d March, 1630, the ship "Jonathan, of Plymouth," of 150 tons, is mentioned as owned by Nicholas Sherwell and Abraham Colemer. "Mr. Fowell," probably John, one of the witnesses to the sealing and delivering of the indenture, was "Town Clarke" of Plymouth in 1612.

This indenture, as will be seen, recites a grant from the Council of New England to Thomson, under date of 16th October, 1622. The Records of the Council show no grant to him under that date; but under 16th November we read, "Mr. Thomson's patent was this day signed by the above said Council." It may have been drawn in the previous month, and the date inserted, but not signed till later.

END OF VOLUME II.

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[Credit for the making of this index belongs to Miss Mary C. Tinney, a graduate of Adelphi College and a student in the Graduate School of Chicago University in the Department of History.]

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THE MARION PRESS
JAMAICA QUEENSBOROUGH NEW YORK

